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The



Pennsylvania

Magazine

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. XXXV.

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLICATION FUND OF

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

No. 1300 LOCUST STREET.

1911.



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MAJOR GENERAL GEORGE GORDON MEADE

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
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VOL. XXXV.

1911.

No. 1

BANQUET GIVEN BY THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO CELEBRATE THE NINETY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF MAJOR GENERAL GEORGE GORDON MEADE, DECEMBER 31, 1910.

THE ninety-fifth anniversary of the birth of Major General George Gordon Meade, Commander of the Army of the Potomac from June 28, 1863, until the disbandment of that army after the surrender at Appomattox, was chosen as a fitting time to bring to the attention of a too-forgetful people, the genius and great services of the victor of Gettysburg. The movement originating with former Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker, President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, found a quick response from the members of the Society, and a committee composed of Hon. Charlemagne Tower, Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, Col. William Brooke Rawle and Col. John P. Nicholson, was appointed to make suitable arrangements for a banquet. On Saturday evening, December 31, 1910, military and naval officers, statesmen, diplomats, judges, barristers of national reputation, authors, journalists and captains of industry, who met in the Hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, made up an assemblage seldom seen even in this city of distinguished gatherings. Three Lieutenant Generals—

Miles, Bates and Young—and an Admiral of the Navy, Melville—made a unique setting for the occasion. In the main Reading Room were displayed a portrait of the father of General Meade, and three jewelled swords presented by the city of Philadelphia, the citizens of Philadelphia at the Great Sanitary Fair in 1864, and by his soldiers on the Rappahannock, respectively. The Assembly Room, in which the banquet was served, was decorated simply but impressively with the National and State Standards. Back of the guests' table hung a life size portrait of Meade, painted at Head Quarters Army of the Potomac, in the Field during the winter of 1863-4, by Thomas Hicks, draped by a large American flag, and flanking it, his tattered headquarters and Fifth Corps flags.

Descendants of General Meade who shared in the honors of the evening, occupied seats in the balcony to listen to the speeches. They were:—Mrs. George Meade, Miss Henrietta Meade, Mrs. John B. Large, Miss Florence Meade, Mr. Saunders L. Meade, Miss Salvadora Meade, Mr. and Mrs. George J. Cooke, Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Francine, Mr. Sergeant Large, Miss Henrietta Large, Mr. and Mrs. John B. Large, Jr., Mrs. G. G. M. Large, and Mrs. Robert H. Large.

The following guests of honor, members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and veterans of the Army of the Potomac, participated in the celebration:—

Nelson A. Miles, Lieut. Gen. U. S. A. (retired);
 S. M. B. Young, Lieut. Gen. U. S. A. (retired);
 John C. Bates, Lieut. Gen. U. S. A. (retired);
 George W. Melville, Rear Admiral, U. S. N. (retired);
 Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker;
 Hon. Hampton L. Carson;
 Col. William Brooke Rawle;
 Col. John P. Nicholson;
 Charles Leonard Moore;
 L. W. Moore, Commander Depart. Penna., G. A. R.;
 J. D. Fenimore, Commander Meade Post, G. A. R.;
 George Gordon Meade;
 George G. Meade Large;
 Robert H. Large;

George W. Ochs, *Public Ledger* ;
Dr. A. C. Lambdin, *Public Ledger* ;
Samuel C. Wells, *The Press* ;
John P. Dwyer, *Record* ;
William A. Connor, Associated Press.

Edwin J. S. Adams,
Thomas Willing Balch,
William J. Barr,
Hon. Norris S. Barratt,
Gen. Robert B. Beath,
Hon. Dimner Beeber,
T. Brown Belfield,
Col. R. Dale Benson,
L. S. Bent,
Major Sylvester Bonnaiffon, Jr.,
Gen. Wendell Phillips Bowman,
Peter Boyd,
Alexander P. Brown,
Jno. Cook Brown,
M. G. Brumbaugh,
John Cadwalader,
Richard McCall Cadwalader,
George W. Carpenter,
Gen. L. H. Carpenter,
Allen Childs,
B. Frank Clapp,
James Clarency,
William M. Coates,
Frederick W. Conaway,
John F. Conaway,
J. Cardeen Cooper, M.D.,
D. E. Dallam,
William Drayton,
Henry Sturgis Drinker,
Frank Brooke Evans,
Clarence T. Faries,
Gen. B. F. Fisher,
George Harrison Fisher,
Stanley G. Flagg, Jr.,
J. Roberts Foulke,
W. R. Gaulbert,
George S. Graham,

John T. Lewis, Jr.,
Hugh McCaffrey,
Clayton McElroy,
William MacLean, Jr.,
Hon. J. Willis Martin,
Capt. S. Emlen Meigs,
Charles K. Mills, M.D.,
W. M. Mintzer,
Thos. M. Montgomery,
John T. Morris,
M. Richards Mucklé,
S. Davis Page,
Harold Pierce,
E. E. Pennock,
Isaac A. Pennypacker,
James L. Pennypacker,
Joseph W. Pennypacker,
Horace Pettit,
John R. Read,
Joseph G. Rittenhouse, Jr.,
W. J. Roe,
Major J. G. Rosengarten,
Henry W. Rupp,
Edward S. Sayres,
D. Nicholas Schaffer,
C. Morton Smith,
Ernest Spofford,
George Stevenson,
George R. Stull,
Hon. Mayer Sulzberger,
H. G. H. Tarr,
Edmund C. Taylor,
Gen. John P. Taylor,
Joseph Thompson,
Nicholas Thouron,
Hon. Charlemagne Tower,
Geoffrey Tower,

Major John C. Groome,
 Thos. Skelton Harrison,
 Charles Henry Hart,
 W. J. Heller,
 Charles E. Hires,
 James Hogan,
 Samuel Hafty,
 Gregory B. Keen,
 John R. Kendrick,
 Major William H. Lambert,
 Col. E. A. Landell,
 A. Layman, M.D.,
 Col. J. Granville Leach,
 David P. Leas,

John W. Townsend,
 T. Chester Walbridge,
 John G. Watmough,
 W. H. Wetherill,
 Col. Theo. E. Wiedersheim,
 Francis H. Williams,
 George Willing,
 Hon. W. W. Wiltbank,
 William D. Winsor,
 Charlemagne Tower Wolfe,
 Leon B. Wolfe,
 Edward Randolph Wood,
 Howard Wood,
 J. A. Wood,

Stuart Wood.

President Pennypacker presided at the banquet, and at the plate of each guest, in addition to the menu, was an excellent card photograph of General Meade (see frontispiece), presented by Mr. Frederick Gutekunst, an active member of the Society for half a century. When Coffee and Cigars were reached the attention of the banqueters was asked, and the President in his introductory remarks said :

ADDRESS OF HON. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—The object of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is not alone to collect and preserve the materials which throw light upon the history of the Country. It is, beside, so to utilize them that the important part borne by this State in the origin and development of the Nation may be proven, and may make its proper impress upon those given to research, and in time upon the people everywhere.

The most important public service is often forgotten by the neglectful and perverted by the unfaithful. There is as much need to preserve reputations as there is to protect bank accounts. We meet to-night to do honor to a most distinguished soldier of the War of the Rebellion, and to indicate our appreciation of his preëminent achievement. It

may well be that some other captain, Grant, or Rosencrans, or Sherman, or Thomas, had the skill and the capacity to command with success upon a battlefield as important as Gettysburg, but upon no one of them did fate impose such a task, or bestow such a reward. The result of that battle settled the issues of the War. It did much more. To-day two diverse peoples, one in the East and one in the West, stretch hands and blow kisses across the Pacific Ocean, waiting intent to see which in the end will be the Master of its waves. America is able to dig her canal and to keep watch and ward for the Aryan race, because a half century ago the most momentous battle of modern times was won upon a Pennsylvania field by a Philadelphia soldier, George Gordon Meade.

It is not for me, as the presiding officer of this dinner, to tell about his services. We have here to-night one of the vice-presidents of this society, a learned lawyer who has been the Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, a brilliant writer who has told us the story of the Supreme Court of the United States, an eloquent orator at once persuasive and impressive. I have the great pleasure to present to you the Hon. Hampton L. Carson.

ADDRESS OF HON. HAMPTON L. CARSON.

*Mr. President, Fellow-members of the Historical Society, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:—*We have met to celebrate the 95th Anniversary of the birthday of George Gordon Meade, one of our great commanders, a son of Pennsylvania, who, on Pennsylvania soil, performed a service to State and Nation of which the benefits will last as long as the flag of the Republic floats; a general who fought a battle and won a victory, of which history will declare that a contrary event would have essentially varied the drama of the world in all its subsequent scenes. Of him it may be said, as Voltaire said of Marlborough, that "he had in high degree that calm courage in the midst of tu-

mult, that serenity of soul in danger, which the English call a cool head, a quality which gave to the English the glories of Cressy, of Poitiers and Agincourt."

He had dash and fire as a division commander, coolness as the commander of a corps, thus displaying courage without rashness and caution without timidity, qualities which Jugurtha was said to have possessed as described by the historian Sallust. He was skilled in logistics, the art of moving large bodies of men, as well as in strategy and tactics, in which Turenne and Napoleon so greatly excelled. Thus he united in a marked degree some of the most striking characteristics of the four great commanders I have named.

In my boyish recollections General Meade stands out as a very distinct personality. I often saw him on horseback as he was riding in the park, or on the streets of Philadelphia, or occasionally in a drawing room. I went to school with his youngest son. My father and mother were intimate with General Meade and Mrs. Meade, and it happened that my uncle General A. A. Humphreys commanded a division at Gettysburg, and afterwards was Meade's Chief of Staff. To this accidental relationship of mine to one closely connected with him I find an explanation of the action of the committee in selecting me, entirely without military knowledge or experience, to address a body of gentlemen, some of whom not only fought under him but were also participants in his great fight. I have envied, as few boys except those of my own generation can envy, the men ten years older than myself. As I cast my eyes along this glittering line and see men here who beneath the inspiration of those glorious stripes and under those inextinguishable stars, fought on those hills and rocky slopes in order that this Union might live, I feel that it is a degree of immortality for them in advance to have participated as soldiers under his command.

General Meade was born on the 31st of December, 1815, in the town of Cadiz, Spain, where his father, a citizen of

Pennsylvania, was a merchant and also represented the government of the United States as a naval agent. On his father's side he was of Irish descent and on his mother's of English. There was not the slightest trace of military inheritance in his blood. He came of a race of merchants, and for three generations back those merchants had been conspicuous in the life and business of Philadelphia. His great-grandfather was here in Philadelphia as early as 1732. His grandfather was one of the merchants who signed the non-importation resolutions in 1765, and subsequently, in 1780, contributed the then very large sum of £2,000 for the relief of the suffering soldiers of George Washington. General Meade's great-aunt married Thomas Fitzsimmons, then a young merchant of Philadelphia, but who is known to fame as one of the signers of the Constitution of the United States, and who as a member of the first Congress of the United States under the Constitution, became conspicuous in advocating our first tariff law. General Meade's father was a merchant who as early as 1803 went to Spain, and there lived during an interesting series of years, that brought him in close contact with the Duke of Wellington throughout his campaigns in Portugal and Spain, and three years after the birth of his illustrious son he returned to this country, and the boy received his early education in a school at Mount Airy, Germantown. Subsequently removing to Washington, he became a pupil of the man who afterwards was celebrated not only as Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury but as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Salmon P. Chase. So that you observe, not only from the family history but from the personal contact of young Meade with men of distinction, that he had unusual opportunities afforded to him of rising in the scale of affairs. Unfortunately his father died in middle life after a long and ineffectual effort to secure from the government of the United States a recognition of a Florida claim which operated very much like the French Spoilation Claims, in the shape of an assumption on the part of the United States

Government in the purchase of territory of claims which United States citizens had against the ceding power. He spent his life and his energy and died of disappointment at not having received that act of justice at the hands of his government which no just government should withhold. The boy afterwards was sent to West Point Academy at the age of sixteen, graduated four years later, and at the age of twenty joined the squadron of his brother-in-law, Commodore Dallas. When at Havana they received the news of the Dade Massacre, which ushered in the Seminole War. Owing to the misfortune of a fever contracted in the swamps, he was not able to perform any very active service, but finally being detached upon purely engineering work, he took a part not only in the building of a railroad but in the laying out of the boundary line between Texas and the United States. Subsequently he ran the lines between Texas and Mexico. He engaged in observations at the mouths of the Mississippi, which later led General Humphreys to investigate more extensively the causes of the frequency of the bars and shoals of that great river. He then came to Philadelphia and on the lower Delaware performed services to this port in the way of light-house construction, and about the time of the outbreak of the Mexican War, he was a member of the Topographical Engineers. Becoming attached to the staff of General Taylor, he served in the battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de La Palma and in the attack on Monterey, particularly distinguishing himself in a reconnoissance of the enemy's works in front of General Worth's lines, gaining the commendation of his commander. Later he joined the army of General Scott and before Vera Cruz, helped to lay out the lines of circumvallation and to indicate the construction of the naval battery. With this experience and these varied activities he then entered on the Geodetic Survey on the Great Lakes and was in that service as a Major of Topographical Engineers at the time of the outbreak of the Civil War.

Disinclined to accept staff duty, he applied to Governor

Curtin and received an appointment as a brigadier-general in command of a division of the famous Pennsylvania Reserves. Joining the Army of the Potomac under McClellan, he particularly distinguished himself at Gaines' Mills and at the Battle of Frazier Farm or Glendale or Charles City Cross Roads, as it is variously called, where he was severely wounded. I will not stop, except simply for a moment, to indicate the value of the services he performed at that last named battle, where by preventing the breaking through of Stonewall Jackson's corps, he guarded the transportation lines across the White Oak Swamp and enabled McClellan's army to reach safely the protection of Malvern Hill. Joining the army a second time, his wound healing rapidly, he then became the commander of the Pennsylvania Reserves, subsequently distinguishing himself at South Mountain and Antietam, there taking command of Hooker's corps when Hooker was wounded. Subsequently placed in command of the Fifth Corps, he attracted general attention to himself at Fredericksburg by a fierce attack on the right wing of Lee's army, penetrating far to the rear, and was driven back simply because of heavy pressure with a great loss of gallant men.

By the sagacity and the soldier like qualities which he had displayed, as well as by the particular value of a remark made concerning the disastrous battle of Chancellorsville, his name was suggested to the President for appointment to the supreme command of the Army of the Potomac, at the time when Hooker asked to be relieved; and on the 28th day of June, 1863, he found himself suddenly burdened with the responsibility of taking command of a great army, not yet concentrated, without any suggestion of value or any information of importance from the retiring commander, upon the eve of that which was to prove to be a battle for the defence of the soil of his native state against Lee's columns flushed with victory, stimulated by their successes at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, and believing that they could conquer in fair fight the Army of the Potomac wherever found. I do not know where it is written in

military annals that any soldier, no matter how distinguished or experienced, had ever before upon such short notice been called upon to assume so responsible a command. Modest but dignified, self-possessed and self-reliant, shirking no duty, but impressed by the gravity of his situation, he gathered in his scattered corps, and ascertaining that Lee was at Chambersburg with Hill and Longstreet, and that Ewell was at Carlisle and Early was at Wrightsville, on the Susquehanna, he gave the orders for the concentration of his army in the direction of Gettysburg.

Then with that supreme quality of prudence which indicates the foresight of the great commander, he had examined and selected a defensive line along Pipe Creek where he felt that he could safely fight a defensive battle if that proved in the course of events to be the proper situation, pushing out the First Corps under Reynolds, supported by the Eleventh under Howard. On the morning of the 1st of July, that gallant soldier of Pennsylvania, John F. Reynolds, finding Buford's Cavalry engaged to the north of the village of Gettysburg, pressed forward to make dispositions for his support when unfortunately, struck by a bullet in the neck, he lost his life on sacred soil. I need not recount the events of that day of disaster, when Early and Ewell coming in from the northeast by lines from York and Hanover and meeting as the roads converged the forward movement of Hill and Longstreet through the Cashtown Pass, the First Corps and the Eleventh Corps had to succumb under the pressure of superior numbers, but just as both corps were driven back, there arrived on that scene of deadly peril a second son of Pennsylvania, Winfield Scott Hancock, sent by George G. Meade to take command and to indicate whether the field of Gettysburg would afford a proper line on which to post the army to fight for the preservation of the Union and the supremacy of the flag. It was well that such a man, with quick glance and instinctive knowledge of topography, had arrived in order to form the divisions in proper lines to hold the ridge.

The line of battle as assumed towards midnight of the 1st of July, General Meade arriving at that time, has been described very often as in the shape of a fish hook. It is impossible to indicate that precisely by words, but by placing my right arm in this position and crooking around the hand so as to form the barb of the hook, you have here at the elbow the position of Round Top, here on the middle forearm Little Round Top, there Cemetery Ridge, here Cemetery Hill, and around to the right in northeast and southeast directions Culp's Hill and Wolf's Hill, while beyond in the open lies the Rummel farm, which you will hear described by Colonel Brooke Rawle. On the opposite side indicated by my left arm was the ridge known as the Seminary Ridge, which was occupied by the Confederates. Between them lay that fatal undulating country over which Pickett's charge took place, which will be described by Colonel Nicholson. On the morning of the 2nd of July, an attack was meditated to drive Ewell and Early away from the Federal right, but it was found because of the peculiar formation of the ground and the presence of Rock Creek that this was inadvisable. The various corps were posted in such a way that the First and Twelfth were on the right, the Eleventh was on the Cemetery Hill and on the Cemetery Ridge proper rested the Second Corps under Hancock; the Third under Sickles should have closed its lines in connection with Hancock's corps to Little Round Top where Sykes rested with Sedgwick in reserve. Above on the extreme left rose the high hill of Round Top overlooking the field.

Scenes of carnage, of detonating noise and wild confusion have been described as among the most sublime that man can contemplate, where huge masses of disciplined valor are arrayed under skillful commanders against each other, and all the deadliest instruments of war which science can devise are trained upon the living lines; this is but material, but that which gave sublimity to that scene was the thought that among the clouds hovering above that field of battle were those vital principles for which the flag floats and for which

men were willing to lay down their lives. The deadliest fighting on the second day was owing to the misjudgment of the commander of the Third Corps in throwing out his divisions so far in advance of the Cemetery Ridge that the advanced line had both wings in the air. Humphreys commanded the division on the right, Birney in the centre and DeTrobriand on the left. General Meade riding to the field, with an instinctive judgment as to the true line of defence, divined at once that Sickles had made a mistake in pushing out to the ridge east of the Emmetsburg road. He ordered him to withdraw but found that it was too late, for he was attacked both on the flanks and the centre by Longstreet's corps charging forward, the men taking advantage of the chasm which led to the Devil's Den and up around the base of Little Round Top and the still greater Round Top. Then occurred what General Alexander, a brigadier general of the Confederate army and the commander of Longstreet's artillery, in his recent book has described as the finest piece of generalship in the entire war on either side. Meade, with a superb display of tactics, brought powerful forces in succession to the support of the imperilled line, and secured the possession of Round Top, the key to the entire field. The contest was bloody and strenuous, charges and countercharges were frequent, in the Peach Orchard, at the salient and across the Wheat Field the tide of battle ebbed and flowed. Charge and countercharge; regiment and division and brigade, finally a corps thrown into support, the right wing drawn on to sustain the centre, and then Humphreys, another son of Pennsylvania, performing an evolution which military men have described as one of the marvels of tactical performance under a hot fire, facing round and changing line, and in good order falling back to the Cemetery Ridge. Sickles' mistake cost in life and in wounds over sixty per cent. of the total losses of the three days' fight. But as the day closed and as Longstreet was driven back, again sprang Pennsylvania to the front, the Pennsylvania Reserves under Crawford

charging across the Wheat Field and pressing back the Confederates, and the sun went down upon a bloody and an undecided day.

On the morning of the 3rd of July, it having been found that during the night Ewell had taken advantage of the weakening of the right wing, and had captured some of the positions in the neighborhood of Culp's Hill, General Meade ordered forward masses of artillery to retake the lost ground. This was accomplished and was the first achievement of the day. Then came a lull—the awful prelude to the storm. All during the forenoon the hot sun beat upon the scene of carnage, where men lay ghastly and dead, where men lay groaning and writhing, where wounds smarted and thirst was maddening, where artillery wagons were overturned and horses were kicking and plunging in agony. Along Cemetery Ridge beat the heart of Pennsylvania, along the entire line pulsed the fate of the nation, back of the Bloody Angle stood the Philadelphia Brigade ready to resist assault. On the opposite line Longstreet massed his artillery. Then Hell vomited. The concentrated fire of 120 guns opened and for two hours belched shot and shell upon the Cemetery Ridge. Lee having failed in his attacks on the right and left wings determined to risk one supreme effort to break the centre and drive Hancock and the Pennsylvanians and the Vermonters and the Massachusetts men and other gallant soldiers of the Union into the jaws of destruction. Hunt's artillery replied for a time, and then reserved its fire to concentrate it on the advancing line, for across the open space, the details of which will be described by Colonel Nicholson, came Pickett's charge. The expiring effort of the Confederacy rose like a billow with a crimson crest and dashed itself against the rock ribbed Cemetery Ridge, and then rolled back, leaving prisoners in our hands, standards captured, broken hopes. Then came the conviction to our army that Gettysburg had been won, that the coolness, the courage, the skill and the perspicacity of the great Pennsylvania soldier, George G. Meade, had rescued the Army of

the Potomac from the indecision, the incompetency and the failures of its previous commanders, and had planted in the hands of that army a standard of victory which never afterwards was lowered.

In England in the days of the Armada, a dark cloud hung upon the coast, while Europe stood in breathless suspense to see the result of the great cast made in the game of politics then being played by the craft of Rome, the power of Phillip and the genius of Farnese against the Island Queen and her Drakes, her Raleighs, her Effinghams and her Cecils. In the same manner there brooded over the rocky hills of Gettysburg those spirits of Good and Evil which met in deadly conflict like Michael and Satan. The victory of Meade meant on that holy soil that Freedom and Union had triumphed over Secession and Slavery, and had rescued this nation from the petty dismemberment which would have wrecked our majestic planetary system, where every State under the flag of the Republic revolves to the music of the Union about the Constitution of the United States as a central sun.

I shall not further attempt a biographical sketch in detail, nor shall I attempt a critical estimate of the military genius of Meade based upon a review of his military work. That task has been already done and admirably done, and its further elucidation belongs to men of military knowledge and experience. I prefer to view Meade as he appears to my mind's eye in the very definite relation of a chosen instrument in the hands of Providence for the accomplishment of certain moral and physical results in the promotion of the plain destiny of America. George G. Meade was born to be the victor at Gettysburg, in the same sense that John Marshall was born to decide the case of Marbury vs. Madison. He was born to be the commander at a critical moment, in the same sense that Benjamin Franklin was born to negotiate the French Alliance, and Webster to be the expounder of the Constitution. There is no fatalism in this, but the recognition of the truth that great men, whether

statesmen, soldiers, lawyers, merchants, bankers or railroad men, who do great things and influence great movements, are the products of a long series of phenomena physical and moral, controlled by law, resulting in certain characteristics springing from ancestry, climate, race, training, education, environment and particular aptitude for an emergency, which at a given time and place, under the clash and conflict of antagonistic forces, produce results which propel through the centuries influences which become telluric, and lift the globe in the upclimb of the race from barbarism to civilization. The charm of the rose, and the sturdiness of the oak, the beauty of woman and the intellect of man, are the products of those laws of transformation which have converted stellar influences and impalpable gases into a solid world, teeming with beauty, both intellectual and physical, just as the Invention of Printing, the Discovery of America, the Settlement at Jamestown, the Landing of the Pilgrims, and the Founding of Pennsylvania led to the Declaration of Independence, the Framing of the Constitution of the United States, and the Victory at Gettysburg, all three of them wrought out on Pennsylvania soil, and in a masterful sense largely the result of Pennsylvania's contribution to the sum total of achievement. Here is the niche that belongs to George Gordon Meade, filled by a grand and impressive figure, the victor and the hero at the supremest crisis in our military history.

President Pennypacker. Lee had sent Stuart with his cavalry around the Army of the Potomac to make an attack upon the rear. Fortunately it happened that he was met there by that great Pennsylvania Soldier, General Gregg, and was defeated. We have asked General Gregg to be here tonight. He is nearly eighty years old and unable to attend in this winter season, but he has written a very commendatory letter of General Meade, which with your permission I shall read.

READING, PA., December 8, 1910.

HON. CHARLEMAGNE TOWER,
HON. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,
COL. WM. BROOKE RAWLE,
COL. JOHN P. NICHOLSON.

Committee.

Dear Sirs :

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st inst. extending to me an invitation to be present at a dinner to be given on the 31st inst. by patriotic citizens of Philadelphia as a tribute to the memory of General George Gordon Meade.

I am delighted to know that the memory of that great soldier is to be honored in such an appropriate manner in his home city, and my great regret is that I am compelled to decline an invitation so courteously extended to me to be a guest at the dinner. I am well advanced in years, fast nearing the four score mark, and can only hope to escape the danger incident to old age in the inclement winter season, by remaining under the shelter of my own roof.

In the War of the Rebellion, I enjoyed the privilege of serving in the Army with General Meade, and was familiar with his fine reputation as a Brigade, Division and Corps commander. His accession to the command of the Army of the Potomac on the eve of the battle of Gettysburg, was accepted by that Army with entire satisfaction. That the confidence reposed in him was not misplaced, was shown by the masterly and skillful manner in which he handled the troops under his command which associate his name so gloriously and inseparably with the great victory won at Gettysburg. When General Meade assumed command of the Army of the Potomac I was in command of a Division of Cavalry, and in August of the following year I fell in command of the Cavalry of that Army, and was brought in close official relations with General Meade, for whom I had the highest respect and admiration because of his great

ability displayed as an Army Commander. Our personal relations were most agreeable and friendly.

It has always been with his host of friends a matter of great regret, that General Meade had not received professional rewards commensurate with the great and distinguished service he rendered his Country when its life hung in the balance.

Very respectfully yours,

D. McM. GREGG.

President Pennypacker. The organization composed of the officers of the Army and Navy who served in the War of the Rebellion is the MILITARY ORDER OF THE LOYAL LEGION OF THE UNITED STATES. Its success, like that of most other organizations, is mainly due to the efforts of a single individual of enterprise and energy. He has collected the most comprehensive and finest library of the literature of that war. He is perhaps the most learned student of that great conflict. The fact that the Field of Gettysburg is marked with monuments, from one end to the other, designating the positions of the troops engaged, is largely due to his efforts. He is here tonight, and he will tell you about the great infantry and artillery assault at the crisis of the three days' fight at Gettysburg, which was a final and desperate effort to break the centre of General Meade's line of battle. I present to you Lieutenant-Colonel John P. Nicholson.

ADDRESS OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN P. NICHOLSON.

Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholson then read from the manuscript a graphic and thrilling account of "Longstreet's Assault on the Union line," in the afternoon of July 3, 1863, during the Battle of Gettysburg, and its repulse, which will be published in connection with a forthcoming series of papers prepared by him relating to the Battles of Antietam, Chancellorsville and Gettysburg.

President Pennypacker. There was with General Gregg in his cavalry fight on the right at Gettysburg, a gentleman who also is now a Vice-President of this Society. He was a young fellow then, nineteen years of age, a member of the Senior Class at the University of Pennsylvania on leave of absence, and a Lieutenant in the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry. He was in the thick of the fight, and afterwards was breveted "for gallant and meritorious services," first as a Major and again as a Lieutenant-Colonel. I have the pleasure of introducing to you Lieutenant-Colonel William Brooke Rawle.

ADDRESS OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE.

Mr. President, Ladies, Honored Guests and Fellow Members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania:—As the years roll by, it is, perhaps, because of the intense strain of modern life, and the multitude of affairs which engage our attention, that we are rapidly allowing the mist of time to dim the recollections of the momentous events which occurred in this country nearly half a century ago. To us here in Pennsylvania especially this fact is to be regretted, inasmuch as on our own soil was fought one of the greatest battles of modern times, the most important one in its effects during the entire conflict of the Civil War of the Southern Rebellion. It is but natural that upon an occasion like this special reference should be made to it, for the words "Meade" and "Gettysburg," "Gettysburg" and "Meade" are synonymous and inseparable. Thanks to the leadership of General George Gordon Meade, himself a citizen of Pennsylvania, our beloved State and City were saved from capture and occupation by an enemy from whom there was much to fear as an invading hostile force.

It is high time now, before all of us who had reached maturity in those days have passed away, that attention should be recalled to the great debt of gratitude which we owe to General Meade. It has been asked: "Why have we chosen the ninety-fifth anniversary of his birth to honor his

memory? The one hundredth would be more appropriate." But, alas, when this corresponding day in the year 1915 shall arrive, there will be scarcely any one left of those who served under General Meade during that great War, in the glorious old Army of the Potomac, to tell of what they saw, and of the events in which they took part.

I have been requested to tell upon this occasion, as I have done before, the story of one particular phase of that great battle of Gettysburg—and one of supreme importance—the cavalry fight on the right flank and rear of Meade's line, which took place simultaneously with the infantry fight just described by Colonel Nicholson. In the few minutes at my disposal, however, it is impossible to describe it with sufficient particularity, or to do justice to it.

The crisis, the most important event of that great battle, occurred on the third and last day of its continuance, during the afternoon of July 3, 1863, when a well conceived and concerted movement on the part of General Robert E. Lee, the Confederate commander, with a massed force estimated at from fifteen thousand to seventeen thousand infantry under General Longstreet, moved from Seminary Ridge on the westward upon the centre of General Meade's position along Cemetery Ridge, while at the same time a force estimated at from six thousand to seven thousand cavalry under that other distinguished Confederate General, J. E. B. Stuart, advanced from the eastward, directed to the same point.

Colonel Nicholson—than whom no one could do it better or even as well—an eye witness of Longstreet's assault, and now and for years past Chairman of the Gettysburg National Park Commission—who has made a thorough study of the battle in all its details, has given us a graphic and thrilling account of the first mentioned movement, known as "Longstreet's," or, by many, as "Pickett's Charge," centring upon the point now marked as the "High Water Mark of the Rebellion." The great preliminary artillery battle which he describes began at a few minutes after one o'clock in the afternoon by the firing of two signal guns by the Washington

Artillery of New Orleans. Now I beg to call attention particularly to the correlation of the times of occurrences, according to the weight of authority. The tremendous artillery firing lasted in its intensity until about a quarter before three o'clock, from which time until about three it gradually slackened, and then ceased. At the latter hour Longstreet's assaulting force moved out from the woods in which it had been concealed along Seminary Ridge. It took about twenty minutes for it to move at a steady pace over the three-fourths of a mile or more through the open fields, to the position of the Union lines, and at about a quarter before four o'clock the Confederates began to fall back repulsed.

Meanwhile, what was going on to the eastward of Meade's position? About two and a half miles to the northeastward of Wolf's Hill, which was the barb of the fish-hook-like shape of Meade's line of battle, and where the Union infantry and cavalry picket and skirmish lines connected, General Stuart, screened by woods and hills, had taken position during the morning, along and a short distance to the southward of the York Pike, with practically all the cavalry then with the Army of Northern Virginia, consisting of the four brigades of General Wade Hampton, General Fitzhugh Lee, General William H. F. Lee (under Colonel Chambliss), and General Jenkins (under Colonel Ferguson), respectively, and four batteries of Horse Artillery—"the main strength and flower of the Confederate cavalry, led by their most distinguished commanders."

General David McM. Gregg, the Commander of the Second Cavalry Division of the Army of the Potomac, had been ordered to take position in the morning on the right of that Army, between the Hanover Road and the York Pike. This he did with the First and Third Brigades of his Division, which were commanded by Colonels McIntosh and Irvin Gregg respectively, with Randol's Battery of Horse Artillery. On part of this field, nearer Gettysburg, along Brinkerhoff's Ridge, he had had, the evening before,

a sharp skirmish with the celebrated "Stonewall Brigade" of Confederate Infantry. On reaching the place to which he had been ordered he found it in possession of General Custer's "Michigan Brigade" of the Third Cavalry Division with Pennington's Battery of Horse Artillery, which he was directed to relieve and send over to report to General Kilpatrick on the left of the line near Round Top. The force under General Gregg including Custer's command numbered about five thousand men, though not more than three thousand were actually engaged in the fight about to be described (Irvin Gregg's brigade being held in reserve close at hand in full view of the field), as against Stuart's six thousand to seven thousand men.

From the position occupied by General Gregg's command we had a fine view over the open country of the tremendous artillery duel going on from two to four miles off. While this was at its height, about two o'clock, McIntosh sent forward part of his brigade to find out what, if anything, was going on beyond a ridge surmounted by trees, called Cress' Ridge, to the northward and westward of where he was posted. It was marvellously fortunate that he did so, for the movement developed the fact that, unseen from our position, Stuart, screened by the ridge, was just starting around General Gregg's left flank, with Jenkins' Brigade, supported by that under the command of Chambliss. Jenkins' Brigade in advance, under Ferguson, had to stop to fend off McIntosh and part of the Michigan Brigade, which had been sent to support and lengthen his line. Then followed some brilliant cavalry fighting, mounted and dismounted, to and fro over the whole field, supported by the horse artillery batteries on both sides. Shortly before three o'clock, just as the great artillery battle over to our left and rear was ceasing preparatory to Longstreet's advance, the First Virginia Cavalry of Fitz Lee's Brigade made a mounted charge upon Randol's Battery, in an endeavor to force its way through and past Gregg's force and strike Meade's line in rear. It was met by the Seventh Michigan, but unsuc-

cessfully. The First North Carolina and the Jeff Davis' Legion of Hampton's Brigade moved up to the support of the First Virginia, and were at first successful in driving our people back, but ultimately all were repulsed by the heavy lines of mounted and dismounted cavalry on both their flanks.

Just then, about ten minutes after three o'clock, when Longstreet's lines of battle had started on their movement to the assault of Cemetery Ridge, there appeared in the distance, emerging from behind the screen of woods on the crossroad by the Stal-smith farm, a little over a mile north of the Hanover Road, heading over the open fields in the direction of our batteries and the rear of centre of Meade's line of battle, a large mass of cavalry—the superb brigades of Wade Hampton and Fitz Lee. Every one of us saw at once that unless this, the grandest attack of all, was checked, the fate of the day would be decided against the Army of the Potomac. They were Stuart's last reserves and his last resource. If the Baltimore Pike was to be reached, and panic and havoc created in the rear of Meade's line of infantry, as intended and hoped for, the important moment had arrived, as Longstreet's command was even then moving up to the assault of Cemetery Ridge from the opposite side.

In close columns of squadrons, advancing, side by side, and as if in review, with sabres drawn and glistening like silver in the bright sunlight—the spectacle called forth a murmur of admiration. It was, indeed, a memorable one. Chester, of Randol's Battery, whose section of guns was nearest, opened fire at once, with a range of less than a mile. Pennington, and Kinney, with the other section of Randol's Battery, soon joined in. Canister and shell were poured into the steadily approaching columns as fast as the guns could fire. Our dismounted men fell back to the right and left, and such as could got to their horses. The mounted skirmishers rallied and fell into line. Then Gregg rode over to the First Michigan, which, as it had come upon the field a short time before, had formed close column of squadrons

supporting the batteries, and gave the word to charge. As its Colonel, Town, ordered sabres to be drawn and the column to advance, Custer dashed up with similar orders, and placed himself at its head. The two opposing columns drew nearer and nearer to each other, the Confederates outnumbering their opponents three or four to one. The gait increased—first the trot, then the gallop. Wade Hampton's battle-flag floated in the van of his brigade. The orders of the Confederate officers to their men could be distinctly heard by us, "Keep to your sabres, men! keep to your sabres!" for the lessons we had given them at Kelly's Ford, at Brandy Station and at Aldie had been severe. There their cry had been, "Put up your sabres! Draw your pistols and fight like gentlemen!" But the sabre was never a favorite weapon with the Confederate cavalry, and now, in spite of the lessons of the past, the warnings of the present were not heeded by all.

As the charge was ordered the speed increased, every horse on the jump, every man yelling like a demon. The columns of the Confederates blended, but their alignment was maintained. Chester put charge after charge of double canister into their midst, his men bringing it up to the guns by the armful. The execution was fearful, but the long rents closed up at once. As the opposing columns drew nearer and nearer, each with good alignment, every man gathered his horse well under him, and gripped his weapon the tighter. Though ordered to retire his guns, toward which the head of the assaulting column was directed, Chester kept on firing until the enemy was within fifty yards of him, and the head of the First Michigan had come into the line of his fire. Staggered by the fearful execution of the two batteries, some of the men in the front of the Confederate column began to check their horses and wavered. Some turned and the column fanned out to the right and left, but those behind came pressing on. Custer, seeing some of the men in the front ranks of the enemy hesitate, waved his sabre and shouted to those following him, "Come

on, you Wolverines !” and with a fearful yell the First Michigan rushed on, Custer four lengths ahead.

McIntosh, as he saw the Confederate column advancing, sent his Adjutant-General, Captain Walter S. Newhall, with orders to Captains Treichel and Rogers, of the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry, whose squadrons were deployed as dismounted skirmishers on the enemy’s right, to mount and rally their men for a charge on his flank as it passed. But sixteen men could get their horses, and with five officers they made for the battle-flag. Newhall, sharing the excitement of the moment, rushed in, by the side of Treichel and Rogers, at the head of the little band. Captain Miller, whose squadron of the Third Pennsylvania had been fighting mounted in skirmishing order, rallied it and fired a volley from the woods on the right as the Confederate column passed parallel with his line but a short distance off, and then, with sabres drawn, charged down into the overwhelming masses of the enemy.

The small detachment under Treichel and Rogers struck the enemy first, all making for Wade Hampton’s color-guard. Newhall was about seizing the flag when a sabre cut was directed at his head, and he was compelled to parry it. At the same moment the color-bearer lowered his spear and struck Newhall full in the face with it, knocking him senseless to the ground. Nearly every officer and man in the little band was killed or wounded. Almost at the same moment, Miller, with his squadron, struck the enemy’s left flank about two-thirds of the way down the column. Going through and through, he cut off the rear portion and drove it back past the Rummel farm buildings up to the Confederate batteries on Cress’ Ridge, and nothing but the scattering of his men prevented his going farther and taking the guns, wounded though he was.

Meanwhile the two columns had come together head on with a loud resounding crash like the falling of timber—the one led by Wade Hampton and Fitz Lee, and the other by Custer—and were fighting hand to hand. McIntosh, with

his staff and orderlies, and such scattered men from the Michigan and other regiments as he could get together, and part of the Fifth Michigan, charged in with their sabres. For minutes, which seemed like hours, amid the clashing of the sabres, the rattle of the small arms, the frenzied imprecations, the demands to surrender, the undaunted replies and the appeals for mercy, the Confederate column stood its ground. Captain Thomas of McIntosh's staff, seeing that more was needed to turn the tide, cut his way over to the woods on the right, where he knew he could find Captain Hart, who had remounted his battalion of the First New Jersey. In the melee, near the colors, was an officer of high rank, and the two headed the battalion for that part of the fight. Then it was that Wade Hampton was wounded.

By this time the edges of the Confederate column had begun to wear away, and the outside men to draw back. As Hart's battalion and the other parties charged in from all sides, the enemy turned. Then there was a pell-mell rush of the Confederates toward their rear, our men following in close pursuit. Many prisoners were captured, and many of our men, through their impetuosity, were carried away by the overpowering current of the retreat.

The pursuit was kept up past the Rummel farm buildings, the key point of the field, and the enemy was driven back into the woods beyond on Cress' Ridge, and toward the York Pike. The line of fences, and the farm buildings, which in the beginning of the fight had been in the possession of the enemy, remained in ours until the end. All serious fighting for the day was over. Longstreet's assault upon Cemetery Ridge had been effectually repulsed by Hancock "The Superb," of Pennsylvania. So also, the simultaneous attack by Stuart on the right flank and rear of Meade's army had been repulsed under the successful leadership of that other magnificent soldier from Pennsylvania, General David McM. Gregg. General Meade's victory along the whole line at Gettysburg was complete.

President Pennypacker. And there came a change! The next speaker is a distinguished man of letters, whose verse has received commendations abroad as well as at home. He has written for us a lyric. I want you all to listen to it, for it is indeed a meritorious production. I call upon Mr. Charles Leonard Moore.

Mr. Moore read his poem, which follows:

GETTYSBURG.

I see the sunny, sultry days of that far battle June,
And the earth with riches weighted lies in a tranced swoon ;
But the bells rock in the steeples and the crowds sway here and there,
And wild Alarm rides through the land and Rumor rules the air.
For Lee is o'er the border
And the State reels at the stroke,
And order and disorder
Are to meet in battle smoke ;
In the battle of all battles,
Fates farthest leash of war
For the South, that wears the Victor's palms
And knows a Conqueror's star.

I see a man just back from fight his musket take once more,
And a woman aids to arm him and waves him from the door,
and neither pallor flecks her cheek, nor tears her orb'd eyes dim.
"If he did not go," exulteth she, "I would not live with him."
For Lee is o'er the border
With all the Rebel wrath,
And Meade is mustering his might
Across the Southron's path;
And life and home and honor
Upon the duel bide,
And men are heroes at the test,
And women deified.

I see the gathering lines of blue wind o'er the distant land,
And the Chieftain in whose hand is thrust the baton of command :
The men move on through day and night while women watch and pray,
And great are the hearts that march to fight and great are those that
stay :
For with Lee across the border
It is grips till the weaker fall ;
It is now or never for either side ;
It is win or lose for all ;

Upon a nation's warlike course
The clouds must gather and stay,
Or be broken and shattered and put to flight
And roll and die away.

Guard then, O land who guarded thee, who fought in those great days,
And aureoles pour around their heads, bright as the battle blaze;
But most round his, the firm, the wise, the Warder of the Gate,
Who tore the wreath from the Victor's brow and kept and saved the
State!

For when Lee was o'er the border
It was Meade and Meade alone
Who swept those hurrying hosts of men
To their tryst with death and moan,
Who stationed them and ranked them,
And bided storm on storm,
And rode himself in the threatened gap
Ere his lines had chance to form.

Our heroes won us Empire and Peace—half joy, half curse—
And the best we can do for them is the laud of speech and verse,
For these can keep in memory still the gleam of gun and blade,
And the steel-gray glint that came in eyes death could not make afraid.
So if across our border
Another foe shall come
Our souls may stand apparelled
For the rolling of the drum,
And armed men shall throng the streets
With all the olden fire,
And women on the thresholds stand
Like spirits to inspire.

President Pennypacker. We are a very fortunate Society tonight. We have with us a Lieutenant-General who commanded the Army of the United States. When he was a youth, he rose from a Captain of a company to the command of a division in General Meade's army, and having been trained in that discipline he never was daunted either by the Southron Lee, or by the Apache chief Geronimo, or by that strenuous President who became his commander-in-chief. I have the pleasure of introducing to you Lieutenant-General Nelson A. Miles.

ADDRESS OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL NELSON A. MILES.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I esteem it an honor to mingle with those who honor the memory of one of the greatest characters in our history. I esteem it an honor to come to this magnificent banquet, and to mingle with the members of this Historical Society, one of the grandest, noblest and best in all our country. You honor yourselves, in my opinion, in honoring the memory of that son of Pennsylvania, that great commander of our principal army, in the greatest crisis our Republic has ever known. Your orator has given us a most interesting account of the history of the family and of the accomplishments of that distinguished officer, how he was so well fitted for the great responsibility, and how he was so well equipped at the time when we needed a man of that build. He was a marked man. He was well known to the military men of this country. Every position that he had occupied, of field officer, of brigade, division and corps commander, had been filled with great ability, and his qualification was well known to his comrades and to those interested in the welfare of our country, and yet, as has been truly said this evening, he was assigned to that important command without notification or intimation that he must be prepared for it, and you might search history in vain to find another instance where a general has been assigned to the command of a great army under such trying circumstances and weighted down with such grave responsibilities, and then won such a glorious victory.

We have also listened with great interest to a description of that battle. We could almost see it re-enacted. It has been so beautifully and so graphically described here this evening, that I would like a copy to read and to hand to my friends in every part of the country. It ought to be read by every American! It is somewhat surprising to see how little interest is felt by our people in the events of that great Civil War, or War of the Rebellion, as it is called, and to

notice how little is known of the history of that heroic age. The dark cloud of war had been gathering over the Republic for generations, and it finally broke with all its force and destructive power. It had been going on for two years before a son of Pennsylvania was ordered to the command of the principal army of the Republic. No man within the borders of our country had ever assumed responsibility under such trying circumstances. No man had been entrusted with such grave responsibilities as was George G. Meade previous to the battle of Gettysburg. The army of the Union had not met with brilliant success before that. They had met with some success and with many disasters. Immediately preceding that, as has been told tonight, were two great battles in which the army of the Union had been defeated. Immediately preceding that, at the Battle of Chancellorsville, the Union Army outnumbered the Confederate Army nearly two to one, and yet, through no fault of its own, it was forced to retreat ingloriously before the triumphant army of the enemy. It had dwindled from nearly 130,000 to only 80,000 between the time of the commencement of the first engagement at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. Its severe losses in battle and the campaign, and various other causes had reduced its numbers nearly one half. Its wounded had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Its dead remained unburied on the field at Chancellorsville. It was discouraged, disheartened, and what was more serious to our country, was the fact that a feeling of discouragement, a want of confidence, a feeling of disaffection had been produced in the Northern States, so much so, that enlistments were growing slack. It was almost impossible to enlist men for the cause. If the Army of the Potomac had been destroyed or captured on the field of Gettysburg, the end of the Republic would have been reached. No other army could have been recruited in the Northern States that would have stopped the Army of the Confederacy from taking possession of Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and the New England States. No other army

could have been raised at that time. In fact, it was almost impossible for a Union officer to go through these northern cities back to his home after being wounded at Chancellorsville, without being almost insulted. Thousands of men in regiments had to be sent to New York, and some even to Philadelphia, to maintain law and order. The crisis had been reached. Everything depended upon the success of that army, and under those circumstances George G. Meade was assigned to command.

He took a discouraged, defeated army, that was being manœuvred against the most exalted army that ever stood on American soil. They were exalted with their own success. They believed themselves capable of accomplishing anything that Lee directed. The feeling may be realized from the indications that we know existed. Take, for instance, the remark of Longstreet, one of the ablest field commanders, who had recently joined and re-inforced Lee with his division. He asserted that the Army of Northern Virginia could accomplish anything, was capable of anything, meaning it was possible not only to whip the Army of the Potomac, but to capture the great cities of the Eastern States, and that feeling extended down to the very humblest soldier in the ranks, to the man who carried a rifle or a drum. That is illustrated by the remark of a Confederate soldier who had been worn down by the campaign and wounded, yet was with his company in the ranks, and was offered his discharge by his captain, but he said, "Captain, I think I won't take this discharge now. I think I will wait and go on with the army until we reach Baltimore." That was the feeling that existed in that army from highest to lowest. And within a few days from that time, that master mind of war, issued positive orders, needed orders, that enforced absolute discipline. The orders of General Meade to his corps commanders were to cause the instant death of any one, officer or soldier, who left the ranks or failed to do his duty in the face of the enemy! He inspired confidence, he inspired fortitude, and it was well placed. That army realized that they had a head and a master mind

directing their affairs, and no army ever gathered itself for the heroic struggle, for the desperate struggle, with more fortitude, courage and heroism than the Army of the Potomac, and they were ready for any service and any sacrifice.

Those two armies met. General Meade knew his commanders. He knew another son of Pennsylvania, Reynolds, and he also knew the qualifications of another son of Pennsylvania, Winfield Scott Hancock. Pennsylvania had so much to do with that great battle. All honor to her sons, all honor to the State, and yet those two armies gathered in deadly struggle, lasting for three days. The army under George G. Meade won the Waterloo of the Western Hemisphere. They turned the scale. They won the victory. They sent back that invading, shouting, conquering army, defeated, humiliated, broken, shattered, back to the fields of Virginia, never again to cross the Potomac or invade the northern territory, never again to fight as it had fought before. Some one has said that General Meade never received the recognition of his services, never was rewarded in the way he ought to have been, and something ought to be done, some great monument ought to be erected to his memory, some great demonstration ought to be made by the people of the country as a recognition of what he accomplished, and yet what better monument can he have? Hundreds of millions of Americans will visit Gettysburg. Strangers from every part of the globe will visit Gettysburg for hundreds and thousands of years, and they can never separate the name of General George G. Meade from the field of Gettysburg. It is there identified with the glory of American valor and American patriotism. It is more beautified and adorned in marble, granite and imperishable bronze than all the other battlefields of the world, and it will remain a lasting monument for General Meade, for Pennsylvania, for the heroes that fought and fell and died and won the victory, for Gettysburg, for the great Republic, for free government, for democratic government, not only for our country but eventually for the world. All honor to Meade and the glorious army that he commanded!

President Pennypacker. It is very evident that until General Miles spoke, you were only getting the effervescence. You are now having the real beer that is always found at the bottom of the mug. Not all the victories, by any means, were won on the land. Some of them were gained at sea. The War of 1812 was won by the Navy, and in the Rebellion the Monitor overwhelmed the Merrimac, Porter opened up the Mississippi, Farragut found his way into Mobile, the Kearsage sunk the Alabama, and we were helped in all ways by the Navy. You have a gentleman with us, who after fighting through that war at sea, did not hesitate to encounter the dangers of the Arctic Ocean. I have the pleasure of presenting to you Rear Admiral George W. Melville.

ADDRESS OF REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE W. MELVILLE, U. S. N.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania: My theme for this evening is the Navy! The Navy of the United States. What a theme for a five minutes' speech? But before proceeding, permit me to make an Epigram, that we all may readily remember.

Notwithstanding the hopeful efforts of our peace societies, the Army and the Navy are a necessity, and must and shall live in the future as in the past. They are the best possible guarantee of peace, and the lowest possible monetary insurance against war.

From the beginning of the life of the Republic, the Navy has been the idol of the people. Away back in the days of Paul Jones, Decatur, Hull, Barry, the first Truxton and Porter, down to our modern time of Farragut, Porter and Rowan,—the great men of our Naval history have hewn out with their swords their victories, and have made famous history for our nation.

And, within the last few years, our new Navy has not been slow in showing to the people of the world, that our Naval commanders have not forgotten the cunning of their craft, nor lost the courage to do and to dare, where duty called them.

I need not call to the memory of our friends tonight, the names of Dewey, Sampson, Schley, Clark, Wainwright, and the hundred other heroes not mentioned in the daily despatches to the people. It is not necessary to sing the praises of our Naval heroes to such an audience as we have here tonight. You know them all!

I need not tell you how our Army and Navy did our duty in the past, back to back, and shoulder to shoulder, during the War of the Rebellion; at Vicksburg, Port Hudson, Pittsburg Landing, Fort Fisher. Aye a hundred times the Army and Navy fought together, and knew no failure! There was no jealousy, it was only a question of who should be first in the thickest of the fray.

So, too, down to the present day, from the landing of a handful of our ancient and honorable Marine Corps at Guantanamo Bay (where our flag was first planted with honor in the face of the enemy, and held the Spanish forces at bay) up to the time of the destruction of the Spanish fleet, and the surrender of Santiago, we were never found wanting! And permit me to say, I do not believe that gallant band received its full meed of praise, where there was more than "Enough Glory for all."

But to the veterans of '61 to '65 I would especially address myself tonight. It is not necessary that a patriot should wear upon his shoulder the star of a General, or bear upon his sleeve the stripes of an Admiral, to be either illustrious or patriotic. He who carried a musket, or pulled a lock string; reefed a topsail in a gale of wind, or stood a trick at the wheel,—who did his duty and did it well,—is the real hero!

When we look back to the dark days of '61 to '65, when the youth and manly beauty of this the fairest and brightest of God's land on the face of the globe, arose as one man to defend the principles of good government; when we were young and fair, before the down of manhood had shaded our cheeks, we stood together, shoulder to shoulder, to defend the rights of free born American citizens, and to blot

out the one sinister bar on our escutcheon, the blood-red stripe of slavery, that this greatest and grandest of Republics may live! That down through the ages yet to come, the history of this grand Republic might live! And that we, the boys of 1861, though not known by name, will yet live as a part of that glorious Army of the Republic, whose praises will be sung in the pæans of the coming centuries, as the loyal hearts who preserved us our nation, and prepared for all future time, that heroic example that will teach all coming nations of men, how to live and how to die to save a nation!

Then we were young; now we are old;—and our numbers are becoming smaller as time rolls on. Yet, after all, my comrades and shipmates, what a blessed thing it is that the eternal rest comes at last to our weary souls, after our long and rude tossing,—buffeted by the billows of misfortune, as many of us have been; sun-burned and frozen by every clime; like the battered hulks of the good old ships, in which we sailed.

We, of the sea-faring class, can all call to mind the burial of some dear old shipmate, far, far away from home, and friends. We have laid them to rest in every part of the globe, aye, and buried them, too, beneath the lap and roll of every crested sea. From the equator, with festering fever, to either pole, where the Snow Gods and Ice King hold everlasting sway, I say, we, the poor wanderers of the ocean wave, have laid to sleep some one of those who stood shoulder to shoulder with us in the shock of battle. We laid them to rest in the mariner's grave, where neither wife nor sister, brother nor friend, can again visit their lonely graves—nothing beyond the weird, happy thought of family and friends that they lie sleeping amid the spicy groves of some ocean isle, or are happily stowed away among the rose-tinted corals of the Indian Seas!

How much happier for us whose roving life has about ceased, whose battered hulks, with our spars and rigging stripped, and sent below, with an empty beef cask over our

mast heads, are laid up in ordinary, awaiting the last pipe of the good boatswain's call of all hands to muster.

And when we, too, are called, whether we belong to the starboard, or port watch, and are relieved from duty, and our number is made, let us hope that some kind friend—for we cannot always have a shipmate to do the last rites for us—will scatter the flowers of love and respect over our last resting place, and murmur the blessed sentiment—"That here lie and sleep well, they who fought to save a nation!"

Some few years ago, at a meeting of our Order at Minneapolis, I made a public statement that now has become almost a classic. It was this:—"The Navy of the United States, both in its personal and material, that man for man, ship for ship, ton for ton, and gun for gun, has not its superior on the face of the globe." And that holds good to-day, and we improve as time rolls on.

President Pennypacker. Again we are a fortunate Society tonight. You have heard General Miles. Here are two of a kind. We have another General who commanded the Army of the United States. He is an improvement because he is a Pennsylvanian. He was born in Pittsburgh, that simple, innocent, but prosperous city in the western part of our State. His good fortune equalled his merit. I was in the service myself for a short time. I went out as a private, but I came back a private. He went into the service as a private and came out at the head of the army. It gives me great pleasure to present Lieutenant-General Samuel B. M. Young.

ADDRESS OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL S. B. M. YOUNG.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: George Washington in his last message to Congress said: "Whatever arguments may be drawn from particular examples superficially, a thorough examination of the subject will evince that the Art of War is both comprehensive and complicated; that it demands much previous study, and that the possession of

it, in its most approved and perfect state, is always of great moment to the security of a nation."

From personal experience I know that, in elementary tactics, organization of companies and battalions, their equipment and supply, young officers of ordinary capacity, education and ambition can make themselves proficient in a few months; but this proficiency is merely the A-B-C of military science. A General, however, must know much more before he is capable of organizing or commanding an army, selecting a proper base of operations, manœuvring his army to successfully reach a chosen objective point, and directing the proper and advantageous disposition of his troops on the battlefield.

The saying that "Every French soldier carried in his knapsack the baton of a Marshal" is certainly laudable, provided the soldier carried in his head the qualifications of a Marshal.

We learn from history that nearly all of Napoleon's great and trusted generals in command of armies, were either educated in military schools or had large experience in previous wars. Marshals like Ney, MacDonald, and Murat, who were so terrible and effective on the field of battle, when directed by the master genius, were sorry failures in strategic combinations when exercising independent commands.

At the commencement of our great Civil War, many of us believed in Heaven-born and politically nurtured generals, but it was soon found advantageous to cultivate the native variety. In this native variety we found our Ney, our MacDonald, and our Murat, all essential as great leaders of integral parts of an army under direction of a master mind; and we also found our Grant, our Sherman, our Meade, our Thomas, our Sheridan, who by their superb abilities and master minds became exponents of the comprehensive and complicated Art of War, and directed our armies to those grand victories that won our cause; cemented our national structure, and enabled us to go forward with the upbuilding of the greatest government in the era of mankind.

We are not assembled here, my friends, for the purpose of fighting again the great battles of the Civil War. We are here as proof of our continued respect, reverence and admiration for the greatest soldier our State has produced, and one among the greatest produced by our nation in the greatest war of modern times—George Gordon Meade.

The memory of the dead is honored and revered for what they were, what they stood for, and the results they accomplished in life.

There is something in human nature which causes us to reward merit. The actual knowledge of a great thing accomplished is a thousand times more potent than a library of arguments as to how it could not have been done without the advice and superior judgment of this, that, or the other individual, and that this, that or the other is entitled to the credit for the great act accomplished. We cannot recall to mind the life and work of a great man in any walk of life, without gaining something useful besides the pleasure of wandering in his neighborhood; and it is a particular pleasure for me to wander in memory in the neighborhood of that illustrious soldier of Pennsylvania, who was born December 31, 1815, graduated from the United States Military Academy, and commissioned Second Lieutenant in the Artillery in 1835, and served in the Florida War against the Seminole Indians, where he contracted an illness that caused him to resign in 1836. The following year we find him, with health restored, Assistant Engineer in active service of his country surveying the Delta of the Mississippi; then the Texas boundary, and the northwestern boundary of the United States to 1842, when he was commissioned in the Topographical Engineers, and continued in the boundary and lake surveys until the commencement of the Mexican War, where we find him under Taylor in the battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterey; and under Scott in the siege of Vera Cruz, after which he had charge of constructing light-houses in Delaware Bay, and mapping surveys of Florida Reefs. Again serving in '49-'50 against

hostile Indians in Florida, and thence on the Geodetic Survey until the breaking out of the Civil War, where we find him in charge of all the northern lake surveys.

With the foundation of education at the best military school in the world—a post-graduate course of practical application in the Florida and Mexican Wars, and a grand university course in scientific work extending from Florida to California, and from Maine to Oregon, I fail to recall an officer of our army who entered the War of the Rebellion better equipped in mind, body and training, for performing the duties of a General Officer, to which grade George Gordon Meade was appointed in 1861.

He was no "Heaven-born General." He was of the hardy, sturdy variety, indigenous to the soil, cultivated in the nursery of West Point, and improved in twenty-five years of practical scientific work throughout the length and breadth of our country. As a brigade, division, and corps commander, he met every obligation of duty devolving upon him earnestly and conscientiously—not only to the satisfaction and gratification of his superiors, but also to his subordinates to whom he always gave just credit for meritorious work; while from his superiors he withheld nothing for himself which was not truly his own, and fairly won. In this, as in all other respects, he had the strictest integrity of character. He was quick, sensitive and impetuous tempered—even irascible and imperious to those who thwarted his wishes, but to all treating him with respect and consideration he was gentle, polished and courteous. By nature he was a genial-hearted gentleman.

Although unfamiliar with supreme command, the high responsibility was suddenly thrust upon him in the night when he was asleep in his tent.

When we consider that McDowell, McClellan, Burnside and Hooker, his predecessors in command of that army, after careful preparation of plans, and with numerically superior force, had, each in turn, been thwarted and beaten by the opposing army—the three latter by that great master

in the Art of War, Robert E. Lee, who now confronted him; and that in less than a week after assuming command of an army so often defeated by the same opposing army, directed by that same master genius, he had fought and won that great battle of Gettysburg—that great victory which checked the tide of war in the channel of maddening defeat, and turned it back into the channel of brilliant success, we at last found the General who proved himself worthy to command the Army of the Potomac—the last, the greatest, and the only successful commander of that Army. He accomplished a work the magnitude of which can only be estimated by considering the appalling calamity that would have fallen on our country had Lee won that battle.

We find Meade's life worthy of emulation in all parts that go to make a good citizen and a great soldier. He had an excellent and a well-poised mind, disciplined by education, cultivated by study, and strengthened by reflection. Whatever he undertook was well, if not brilliantly done. Fortunate indeed for our country he chose the military profession.

Braver than a lion—uncompromising and determined—yet just, kind and generous; imperious and impetuous—yet modest and simple, warm and loyal, without fear and without reproach. A great soul—a grand soldier—a refined gentleman, and an exalted type of that noblest work of God—an honest man.

President Pennypacker. As I have said to you before, we are a fortunate Society tonight. There are three of a kind. We have another General who commanded the armies of the United States. Those of you who are as old as I am, and many of you are much older, can remember that Edward Bates, of Missouri, almost reached the presidency of the United States. His son went into the army, and naturally enough he reached the head of it. He is here tonight. I introduce to you Lieutenant-General John C. Bates.

ADDRESS OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JOHN C. BATES.

Mr. President, Members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Ladies and Gentlemen: It has been a great pleasure to me to be here tonight, as I had the great honor of serving on the personal staff of General Meade during the whole time he commanded the Army of the Potomac. His character has been so well described tonight that as I am no speaker, I shall not attempt to give any description. I thoroughly endorse the views expressed by Generals Miles and Young in regard to him. General Miles spoke especially of his being a good disciplinarian. He was. He disciplined himself as well as others. I doubt if we had another officer who could have filled the position in nominal command of an army under an immediate superior, as did General Meade. I can only say, I am delighted to be here with my old chief on the roll of honor. I feel, as has been said tonight, that your society is honoring itself in honoring him.

President Pennypacker. There are several other gentlemen here, who I am sure you would like to listen to, but there must be an end to everything, no matter how good it may be. Permit me to congratulate you on the success of this dinner, wish you all a happy New Year, and bid you good night.

JOSEPH RICHARDSON'S ROAD.

A BIT OF COLOR FROM THE FORGOTTEN PAST.

BY HON. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

THE Indians had a village at Conestoga, in what is now Lancaster County, not far from the Susquehanna River. When they wanted for any reason to go to Coaquannock, at the site of Philadelphia, they followed the Conestoga Creek to its head-waters and thence crossing to the sources of the French Creek, went down this stream to its mouth, where is now the borough of Phoenixville. On the way they passed through the beautiful valley in which later was erected the forge for making iron called Coventry, the second if not the first in the province. The deposit of iron-ore at this place was discovered and pointed out to Samuel Nutt, the founder of the industry, by an Indian chief, and it is pleasing to know that Nutt, not ungrateful, gave to the daughter of the Indian an iron kettle for which he was charged 4s. 6d. At the point where the trail reached the river Schuylkill, and where many years afterward the British under Cornwallis, in the campaign of 1777, forced a passage of the stream, there was a ford long called by the settlers Indian Ford or Indiantown Ford, but to become famous at the time of the Revolution as Gordon's Ford. To the region of country on the east side of the river extending as far southward as the Perkiomen, the Indians gave the euphonious name of Olethgo or Oletheho. In the sorry modern days, when men of enterprise and wealth in Philadelphia seek the relief of country life, they are carried out to the flat unwatered and unattractive lands along the main line of the Pennsylvania railroad, but in the early time, either more discerning or less subject to influence, they pushed their way northward and founded homes where be-

tween rugged hills, through green and fertile valleys, rapid and romantic streams empty their waters into the Schuylkill. Among these vigorous men was Joseph Richardson. On the second of June, 1710, he bought one thousand acres of alluvial land lying in the corner enclosed by the Schuylkill and the Perkiomen, and thereafter is described in the records, and described himself as Joseph Richardson, of Olethgo. He was the only son of Samuel Richardson, the first alderman of Philadelphia, member of the Court of Common Pleas, Provincial Councillor, and with the exception of Samuel Carpenter, the richest man in the city, owning all of the ground on the north side of Market Street from Second Street to the Delaware River. Joseph Richardson collected down to the time of his death, the ground rents upon this property which had been devised to him by his father. William Hudson, Mayor of the city, married his sister Mary. Abraham Bickley, whose warehouse is shown on Cooper's Prospect of the Port of Philadelphia and from whom he bought the tract in Olethgo, married his sister Elizabeth. Edward Lane, who owned seventy-five hundred acres on the Perkiomen, where he built a mill and a tavern and founded St. James Episcopal Church, married his sister Ann, and doubtless he was influenced by the proximity of Lane, a personal friend of Penn, in making the purchase. When he married Elizabeth, daughter of John Bevan, June 29th, 1696, there was an elaborate settlement after the English fashion, on record in Philadelphia, in which his father gave him five hundred acres of land at Bristol, and her father gave her £.200 as a marriage portion. While living on this tract at Bristol, he sent his four sons, Samuel, Aubrey, Edward and John to school to Francis Daniel Pastorius, and that learned scholar and famous colonist wrote in his book of accounts: "1712, 1 August Abre & Neddy to school at 4d. per week to the 3d day of November 104 days 8s 8d." He was a Friend, very rigid in faith and observance. The minutes of Haverford Monthly Meeting in 1714 set forth: "friends inhabiting about Per-

quoming and this side of Schuylkill in ye Valley being desirous y^t a meeting might be allowed y^m every other mo. to be and begin att Lewis Walker's house the first in 2nd Mo. next and thence every other month at Joseph Richardson's house until ye 9th mo. next." When John Fothergill, the father of Dr. John Fothergill, the most famous physician of his time in London, travelled through the country in December of 1721, he said in his journal: "The 15th we went over to Perquiomen, where we had a good Meeting in a sense of the Prevalency of the Power of Truth. We lodged with Joseph Richardson in whose house we had a serviceable humbling season with his Family and some others, who came in that evening." Years later he was tempted and to some extent fell from grace. The fact is recorded on the 28th of 3d mo., 1745, in the following words: "Providence overseers acquaint this meeting that Joseph Richardson had given leave to the Priest to marry his Daughter contrary to the Discipline of Friends and he being present acknowledged his Transgression and was sorry for it, which was received." Happily for him the Meeting could be forgiving, as well as just in the rendition of judgment. Notwithstanding the strictness of his Quaker creed he had several controversies, one of which even John Cadwalader found it difficult to settle, and he wore on his coat silver buttons, some of them still preserved, on which were engraved the arms of the family. He owned ten negro slaves, Angola, Jack, Jack's wife, Cudgo, Edinborough, Solomon, Phillis, old Phillis, Betty, and Parthenia. These were not his only servants. We are told in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for May 9th, 1733, published by Benjamin Franklin: "Run away the 6th. of this instant May from Joseph Richardson of Perkiomy in the Township of New Providence in the County of Philadelphia, a servant Man named William Brown *alias* William Darrell, aged 21 years, he is of a middle Stature, hollow eyed, large nose, down look, and very round shouldered, his Hair lately cut off; he had on when he went away a new Felt Hat, a close bodye Coat

and a great Coat of a lightish colour and brass Buttons, a Pair of Pumps with Peaked Toes; he took with him a large black Gelding branded with W. B. Paces well, shod all round, and took a man's Saddle and Bridle, likewise a Small Trunk, having in it some Womens apparel viz. Some Handkerchiefs, Caps and a Black Padesway Hood and Six Shillings in Money. Whoever takes up said Servant and Horse and brings them to Joseph Richardson aforesaid or to George Emlen in Philadelphia or Secures them so as they may be had again shall have eight pounds as a Reward and reasonable Charges paid by me.

JOSEPH RICHARDSON."

Fate has many anomalies and time brings many reverses. The descendants of the Norman dukes of the days of the Conquest have disappeared from the earth, and the descendants of the villeins and peasants own the land over which they held sway. The records of the past tell us with minute detail the features of the servants, but the faces of their masters have faded into obscurity. However, we know that Joseph Richardson, of Olethgo, when he went abroad rode a black branded horse whose gait was a pace and not a trot, that it was customary to shoe the horses that followed the woods paths only in front, that he wore boots with round toes and when he went home at nights he took them off and put on pumps with peaked toes, and that his wife wore caps, covered them with a black Padesway hood lest they be too conspicuous and that she used pocket handkerchiefs. It may be added that when she came to him she brought with her not only the £200 in money, but a pedigree that ran back into many a line of Bourbon and Plantagenet.

The great city, of perhaps ten thousand people, where his early days had been spent and where his ground rents matured, was twenty-four miles away. How did he get to it on his black horse? The purpose of this story, piecing together the facts which some old manuscripts have by a lucky chance preserved, is to tell the manner of his going.

Moses Coates, a Quaker, the first settler where is now Phoenixville, had made his home on the north bank of the French Creek near its mouth. Francis Buckwalter, a Swiss Mennonite, had taken up the extensive meadows in the great bend of the Schuylkill at what is called the Black Rock. Daniel Walker lived where the Valley Creek empties into the river and there, having learned to make iron at Coventry, he erected the forge to become so celebrated in the War of the Revolution. James Hamer, a Quaker, occupied the high ground back of the present village of Mont Clare. These persons together with Thomas Rees, Robert Thomas, Jonas Potts and Thomas Coates (obscure), united with Joseph Richardson in a petition Dec. 3, 1722, to the Court of Quarter Sessions in Philadelphia, as "Inhabitants of Oletheho and the neighboring parts." They set forth that "there are already many families settled in the afforesaid place called Oletheho upon Scoolkill side and probably severall more to settle in and about the same place," that "there is a Mill put up at the French Creeks mouth or Indiantown fford"; that "there is no certaine Road laid out from thence towards the city of Philadelphia" and they asked the court to order "a Kings Road or Cart way through the various Hills and ups and downs of the aforementioned place to wit, from the Indian town ffoord to the next established Kings Road that will suit best the inhabitants of Oletheho to the said city of Philadelphia." The court granted the petition and appointed William Harmer, the ancestor of the Revolutionary general Josiah Harmar, Joseph Richardson, Abraham Dawes, Meredith David and Andrew Robeson, who had been a Provincial Councillor, who had a mill on the Wissahickon, and who is buried at Manatawny, a jury to lay out the road, and at their head placed Hendrick Pannebecker, the Dutch Patroon, living on the Skippack, where he owned large tracts of land and where eleven years later he bought Bebbber's Township. The court likewise appointed Joseph Richardson and Robert Thomas "overseers of ye above road." As a surveyor,

Pannebecker ran the lines for many of the manors of the Penns, and he laid out the road according to the following courses and distances, covering an extent of eleven and three-fortieth miles: "we Began at a white Oak standing in the King's high Road near ye Plantation of Joseph Samuel on Plymouth Road, then North seventy-five degrees westerly one hundred and Twenty perches then North forty-five degrees westerly seventy perches. Then North sixty-four degrees westerly three hundred and eighty-four Perches Then north seventy-two Degrees westerly two hundred and Thirty-four perches. Then north Ninety-one Degrees westerly fifty-two Perches Then North sixty-two Degrees westerly forty-two Perches. Then North Eighty-two Degrees westerly sixty-eight perches then North seventy-five degrees westerly one hundred and fourty-Perches Then North sixty-five degrees westerly fourty Perches Then North fifty-eight degrees Westerly twenty-eight Perches Then North forty-four degrees westerly fifty-eight perches Then north forty-four degrees westerly fifty-eight perches Then north forty-nine degrees west Twenty-six perches Then North sixty-seven Degrees westerly seventy-eight Perches Then North seventy-three degrees westerly one hundred Thirty-eight perches Then North sixty-five degrees easterly Thirty-eight perches Then North fifty-seven Degrees westerly Three hundred fourty-six perches Then North sixty-four Degrees westerly sixty-six perches Then North seventy-four Degrees westerly Ninety-two perches Then North seventy-six degrees westerly eighty-four perches Then north Eighty Degrees westerly Two hundred and Twenty-perches. Then North seventy Degrees westerly fourty-eight perches Then North sixty-five Degrees Westerly two hundred and twenty perches Then North eighty-five Degrees westerly one hundred and sixty-four perches Then North Sixty Degrees westerly sixty-six perches to Perqueoming Creek Then North seventy Degrees westerly five hundred and Twenty Perches Then north Ten Degrees East one hundred and seventy-six perches Then North five degrees East one hun-

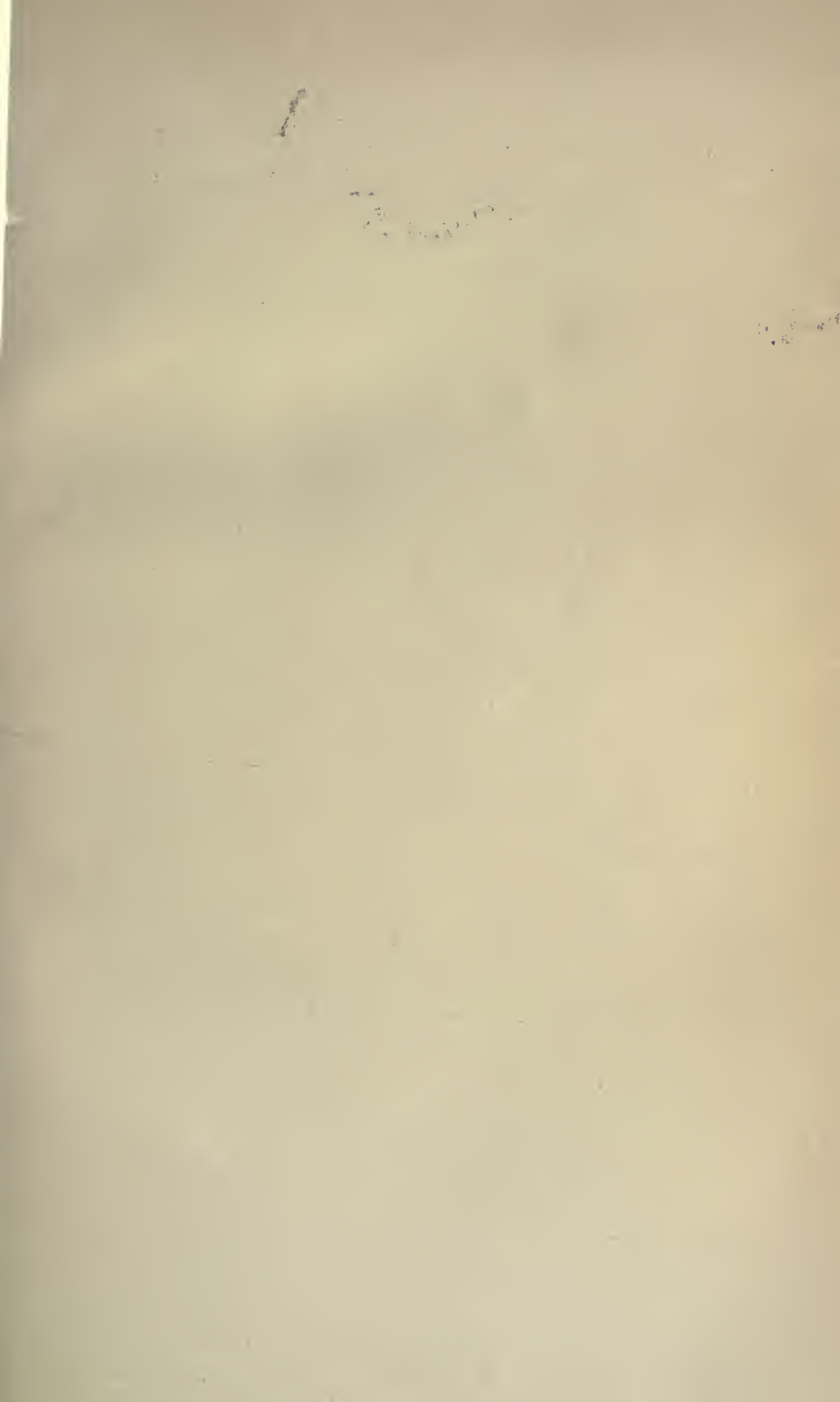
dred and Thirty Perches to the Indian ford in Schuilkill." The report was made to the court and approved in the following March. Then came trouble. It is much easier to take bearings and carry a chain than it is to cut down oak and hickory and level hills. What public improvement was ever proposed, without arousing the opposition of those who are disturbed by its progress? Further down the river Isaac Norris had bought the manor of Williamstadt, containing ten thousand acres of land and it had been divided into lots. The proposed road would cross this manor and he did not want his land taken for any such purpose. There was no occasion for a road anyhow. Many people who interfere with their neighbors by asking for roads are mere squatters without any real right, and they deserve no consideration. There was another road which ran through his property by Edward Lane's to Manatawny, and this would be almost parallel. Why should there be two roads through the country? Happily for us, he wrote down at the time the tale of his woes. Otherwise the events we are narrating would have been buried in oblivion. On the 8th of November of 1725, Norris at the request of Richardson, left his home in the city and journeyed to his manor that he might go over the road as it was laid out "if they must have one there abt," and suggest whatever changes in the route might be necessary. Richardson and Pannebecker met him in the woods. There were others in the party, but who they were we are not told. However, we know from an old draft preserved in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, copied from one made in 1704, that on this occasion Pannebecker took them to a line tree in the manor of Williamstadt marked "W. P.," from which it may be inferred that he had early surveyed that manor perhaps in the company of Penn himself. They started upon the line following the courses as shown by Pannebecker's compass and for a time all went smoothly, although Norris found one of his trees girdled and several others cut. Presently they came to within about sixty perches of a white

oak, where Norris saw that the ground was of just the kind suitable for a road and he proposed to them to go that way and then they might cross the next lot "O as it pleased y^m." Richardson had a different view. The ground about that white oak did not impress him favorably and "in his weak unmanerly way * * * he called ye Surveyor off." His interference stopped the whole business. Thereupon, Norris took out his own "circumferenter" and determined to run up to that particular white oak. They all followed, but nothing more could be accomplished on that day. Somewhere they spent the night all together, perhaps in some house, but because of what must have been a dearth of accommodations, more probably in the woods. Norris wrote on the 9th, "after much talk last night we essayed an accomodation," but still he was far from content. When he found a marked poplar on the bank of the Schuylkill he said: "Tis a blind line & I suppose run by ffairman to cut of a part of my land." Up the river they found a corner tree "cald by John Taylor a dog tree but by some of ye people now with me calld a sort of gum, by others thought a kind of elm." While they may have understood surveying, they were certainly unlearned in botany. Norris says they followed the courses and measured the distances of the proposed road "to Indn Creek," and "up ye hill," and to the spring "on ye opposite side," but he concluded with evident dissatisfaction: "these are ye courses taken from Pannebecker but they are wrong either in course or distances or both for they will not come right by protraction." Nearly two years later, on the 5th of 4th Month, 1727, he presented a petition to the court. This petition stated that he "is informed a Road was lately granted and said or pretended to be laid out leading from Plymouth Township to Perqueoming Creek wch runs aslant more than four miles through his land commonly called the Manor of Wm Stadt obliquely cutting the lines of the severall lotts laid out many years before in the sd Mannor very injuriously"; that he "had not ye least notice or knowledge either of the petition

grant or laying out the sd Road"; (oh! friend Isaac Norris). And he asked that six housekeepers be directed to ascertain whether there was any occasion for the road at all and if so, to locate it in places causing the least inconvenience. He declared that he had met with both "abuse and ill treatment." The court appointed a jury of review but they too proved obdurate. Among the papers of Norris, is one drawn up by him giving the courses and distances precisely as they had been found by Pannebecker in 1722, endorsed "Jos. Richardson's Road through ye Mannor" and on which he wrote March 27, 1729, "found the marked trees crooked as they pleased to choose ye ground."

The next year on the 7th of September, 1730, James Hamer in behalf of himself and the inhabitants of Olyertheho (sic), sent a petition to the Court. In it he says that in 1722, they had been granted a road from Plymouth, "through Isaac Norriss Lotts to the upper Indian Town ford upon Schuylkill," but that "Since Sd Road was laid out it hath caused some uneasiness in Isaac Norris," so that they could not have it cut through his land though "they have cleared it below & above." "In order that amity and love may abound and this controversy be ended," he asked that an impartial jury be appointed to view the road "beginning at a white oak at the Side of sd Norriss Mill Race and thence through his Land to ye cleared Road." This suggestion, evidently intended as a proposition to make the road satisfactory to him in so far as it affected his own land, was still not sufficiently soothing. On the back of his copy of this paper he wrote: "James Hamer's Petition—Joseph Richardson's dictation," which shows that he thought Richardson continued to be a disturbing influence. It is his final comment, and here our evidence and the story of an old dispute both come to an end. The road may be found on Scull's map of 1759, connecting Providence Meeting with Plymouth Meeting. In modern description it runs from Phoenixville by the hamlet of the Green Tree to the Perkiomen at Oaks Station, and thence through Audubon,

Jeffersonville, and Norristown, of which it became the main street, on to Plymouth. The Schuylkill Valley Trolley Company now runs its cars where Norris found only white oaks, and trees which may have been either gum, or elm, or dogwood. Could he have foreseen that the only preservation of the name of Norris on the map of Pennsylvania is where the thriving and populous borough of Norristown grew up along Joseph Richardson's Road, he would doubtless have been more content and been on better terms with his neighbor. How often it happens in the affairs of men that that to which they most object turns out to be to their advantage.



SIC ITUR AD ASTRA



45th Ascent and the first
made in America January
9th 1793 at Philadelphia
39° 56' N. Latitude by
M^r. J. P. Blanchard.

45^e ascension et la premiere
faite en Amerique le 9 Jan
vier 1793 a. Philadelphia 39
56 Latitude N. par
M^r. J. P. Blanchard.

THE FIRST BALLOON HOAX.

BY JOSEPH JACKSON.

PARADOXICALLY as it may appear, the "first balloon ascension in this country" never occurred. This statement naturally requires explanation. What is intended to be conveyed by the sentence is that the balloon ascension, which is regarded as having taken place in Philadelphia on December 28, 1783, is purely mythical.

The statement originally published in a foreign newspaper bears every evidence of having been constructed as a hoax by some resident of Philadelphia, who appeared to believe that when discoveries were being made in aeronautics in France, Philadelphia, with her famed Philosophical Society, should not be found backward.

That this story was a hoax, was discovered by the writer only when he attempted to supplement the generally accepted account of the ascent with fuller particulars. At the Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, it was found that although two members of that eminent association were mentioned as being leading spirits in the famous ascent, there was absolutely no record of the experiment. As will be apparent later, there was a dearth of contemporary evidence elsewhere and the conclusion was necessarily arrived at that the ascension could not have taken place at the time or in the manner stated in an account that is to be found to this day in some of the most authoritative works of reference.

With this evidence before one, it is necessary to conclude that the first ascent of a balloon in this country did not occur until July 17, 1784. This, so far as the aeronaut was concerned, was unsuccessful, for, before the aerostat had risen many feet above the ground, Peter Carnes, an amateur balloonist, of Baltimore, was thrown from the basket, but

the hot-air bag arose to a great height. The first real ascension was performed by Blanchard, a French aeronaut, in Philadelphia, in January, 1793, and both of these events are historic facts.

Blanchard, who came to this city in December, 1792, found a hearty response to his request for patronage, and foremost among his patrons was President Washington, who took a lively and evidently very real interest in the experiment. On January 9, 1793, the subscribers to the fund which made the ascension possible, and which amounted to over \$2000, assembled in the yard of the old Walnut Street Prison at Sixth and Walnut Streets. Washington, next to the aeronaut, was the most prominent figure in the crowd. They watched the great aerostat in which Blanchard already had made ascensions in Europe, as it was filled with hydrogen gas, and when all was ready and Blanchard walked over to the President to inform him of the fact, Washington handed him a passport so that persons who never had seen a balloon would treat the aeronaut with consideration. Doctor Rush and Doctor Wistar took the greatest interest in the ascension, and it was at their request that Blanchard made numerous observations while in the air.

Blanchard reached a height of 5812 feet, and after being in the air for 46 minutes, descended without accident in Deptford Township, Gloucester County, New Jersey. He hastened back to Philadelphia, and immediately presented himself to the President at the Executive Mansion, then on Market Street west of Fifth. Blanchard presented a small flag which had adorned his balloon to President Washington, who warmly congratulated the daring balloonist.

On the authority of numerous histories of aeronautics it has been customary to credit David Rittenhouse, the astronomer, and Francis Hopkinson, patriot, lawyer, scientist and satirist, with having contrived the first balloon ascension on this continent, within a few months after the success of Charles's first voyage through the air in France. It can now, after one hundred and twenty-six years, be asserted

that the whole narrative was a hoax, which through some strange fatality, has been unpenetrated by later writers on the subject.

There is every internal evidence that the hoax was perpetrated by a resident of Philadelphia, for it bears on its face the authorship of a person who was familiar, not only with the city, but in a small way at least, with the men of prominence here. It was mainly, if not entirely, intended for European consumption, and if the hoax ever reached Philadelphia in the period in which it was published, it is not a matter of record that any attention was paid to it. If the story of this truly remarkable balloon ascension ever was read there in those times, evidently no person took the trouble to correct it.

Proving that the ascension never took place does not take away from Philadelphia the honor of being the first city in the United States to encourage aeronautics, for there was a genuine ascent some months later which, as has been remarked, is of record.

The original story seems to have appeared in a Paris journal, named the *Journal de Paris*. In its issue for May 13, 1784, the following detailed account of the phantom ascent was printed :

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 29, 1783.—No sooner was the extraordinary discovery of M. Montgolfier known here, about a month ago, than a similar experiment was attempted, not, indeed, on so large a scale, for want of means, and this circumstance has led us to perhaps the happiest application of this phenomena. A man raised himself to a height of ninety-seven English feet, and came down again, but with too much ease.

Messrs Rittenhouse and Hopkins began their experiments with bladders, and then with somewhat larger machines. They joined several together, and fastened them around a cage into which they put several animals. The whole ascended, and was drawn down again with a rope.

The next day, which was yesterday, a man offered to get into the cage provided the rope was not let go. He rose about fifteen feet and would not suffer himself to go higher.

James Wilcox, a carpenter, engaged to go in it for a little money. He rose twenty feet or upwards before he made a signal to be drawn down.

He then took instructions from Messrs. Rittenhouse and Hopkins, and after several repetitions on the ground, consented to have the rope cut for fifty dollars. Dr. Jaune, the principal medical person in the city, attended in case of accident.

The crowd was incredible and shouted after they saw Wilcox rise crowded in the cage surrounded by forty-seven balloons fastened to it with astonishing coolness, nodding his head to express his satisfaction and composure. After all, he could not rise above ninety-seven feet, ascending to the measures taken by the two other gentlemen of the Philosophical Academy. He was at least five minutes in the air, but perceiving the wind to blow from the east and drive him towards the Schuylkill river he was frightened and agreeable to his instructions made several incisions with a knife in three of the balloons. This was not sufficient, though we saw him descend a little. He pierced three more, and seeing the machine not come down, his fear increased. He cut five more in the greatest haste and unfortunately all on the same side. He was then seen to tack about, and as he had slid down he fell on a fence on the edge of a ditch. Dr. Jaune ran up and found the poor man had sprained his wrist, but received no other injury. He was taken care of, a new machine put in, and it is hoped it will be more complete.

There is a reminder of Gilbert's opera "The Mikado," in the way the unconvincing narrative is bolstered up with delicate touches intended to make for verity, about "nodding his head," and having "Dr. Jaune, the principal medical person" on hand in case of accident. There is something admirable in the imagination of the author, who conceived the fullest details, including those of little consequence, even had the yarn been true, which it was not.

The ditch which was protected by a fence, also was a fine, but unlikely touch, for near the Schuylkill River—and from the narrative the alleged ascension must have occurred on the east side of that stream—there were no fences in the year 1783. It must be understood to have taken place within the old city limits, for in those days outside the boundaries always was alluded to as near the city, a phrase that sometimes confuses the historian or antiquary.

From the narrative one is justified in translating Hopkins as Hopkinson, if we are to believe the feat was engineered by two members of the Philosophical Society. The name

of this society, it will be noticed, is given as the Philosophical Academy of Philadelphia, which was an institution that never existed. There was no physician in Philadelphia named Jaune in 1783. It is scarcely conceivable that the celebrated Dr. Kuhn was intended. And the carpenter, James Wilcox, also comes near to being a genuine name in Philadelphia at the time. The Directory for 1785 mentions three of the family named John, but unfortunately fails to give the occupation of any of them.

According to the narrative, the event must have attracted a great concourse of persons. It even mentions the crowd to which the daring Wilcox nodded his head. Yet the newspapers of the time are silent on the alleged ascent. Rittenhouse, who was the second president of the Philosophical Society, never appears to have made any reference to the experiment, although in the Transactions of the Society he is found to have contributed several important papers on his favorite study, astronomy.

In the Life of Rittenhouse by his son-in-law, Dr. Barton, there is unusual silence on an experiment so important that it must have been the pioneer in the New World, if it occurred. Doctor Barton fails to mention his father-in-law's alleged connection with it. Neither is the event mentioned in the Diary of Jacob Hiltshimer, who, however, does not neglect to mention Blanchard's ascent, ten years later. There were other diarists who were keeping journals in Philadelphia at the time, and although these, generally speaking, are gossipy, they all are silent on this wonderful scientific and popular event.

Even the journals of the Philosophical Society do not refer to the alleged ascension, although its president is proclaimed to be the leader of the experiment. In fact, there is a desert of silence on the subject on all sides. Surely, some one, in addition to the alleged correspondent of the Paris Journal, would have broken faith and have given the world for all time the true facts of such an historic event as this, if it had occurred, must have been. Yet there is nothing.

The tale appears to have been more familiar in England and France than it was in this country, and it is only within the last half century that the story has been current here. No great attention ever has been paid to it. It has been taken as a matter of course, where it has excited any interest at all. In recent times the story seems to have been given currency by Hatton Turnor's "*Astra Castra*," a vast compendium of information and lore, on the subject of aeronautics from mythological times to the year 1865, when the book was published.

In "*Astra Castra*," the story, very much curtailed, is given as a matter of fact, and even the Ninth Edition of the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*" repeats the story. As both are substantially the same, that from the "*Encyclopædia*" may be produced here and answer for both. It will be noted that in this version of the story we are informed that the balloons were filled with hydrogen. This may have been a gratuity of Mr. Turnor.

It is proper here to state that researches on the use of gas for inflating balloons seem to have been carried on in Philadelphia nearly simultaneously with the experiments of the Montgolfiers. When the news of the latter reached America, Messrs. Rittenhouse and Hopkins, members of the Philosophical Academy of Philadelphia, constructed a machine consisting of forty-seven hydrogen gas balloons, attached to a car or cage. After several preliminary experiments in which animals were let up to a certain height by a rope, a carpenter, one James Wilcox, was induced to enter the car for a small sum of money; the ropes were cut and he remained up in the air about ten minutes, and only effected his descent by making incisions in a number of the balloons, through fear of falling into the river, which he was approaching.

It will be noted the writer in the "*Encyclopædia*" has improved on the original story. He asserts the aeronaut was in the air ten minutes. The original story recites that he was aloft at least five minutes, when he discovered he was drifting toward the river, and how much longer he was in making his descent the reader is left to imagine.

It is not possible to say with any certainty who was the author of this, the first balloon hoax, which, while not so

extensive as the later one by Poe and lacking in some of its dramatic features, equalled, if it did not excel that story by the fact that it continued to deceive for the last one hundred and twenty-six years.

If the author was a Philadelphian, he must have purposely invented the names for his characters. Francis Hopkinson himself might be mentioned as one who might have perpetrated the hoax, and this view would be strengthened by making his name as Hopkins. The celebrated practical joker, Colonel Thomas Forrest, also might have been the inventor if the story really went out from Philadelphia. On the other hand the story lies under some suspicion of having been concocted in England by some one who had been a resident of Philadelphia. In this case Isaac Hunt, the father of Leigh Hunt, might be regarded as the author. But all of these are the merest conjectures and have nothing more to substantiate them than has the hoax itself.

The idea of having forty-seven balloons filled with hydrogen gas points to one conclusion: it must have been the invention of a man who never had seen a balloon, but who had seen in the *London Magazine*, an engraving published about this time, of Lana's design for a balloon. Lana's balloon was not intended to be inflated, but the spheres were to be composed of thin, strong, hollow metal, exhausted of air, leaving a vacuum, which the inventor, not counting upon the pressure of the atmosphere, believed would raise a person to a considerable height. It now is known that such immense hollow metal globes—they were to have been twenty feet in diameter—from which the air had been exhausted, would be crushed by the pressure of the atmosphere. Lana's project was given to the world in 1670, when the barometer was not in general use, and may have been unknown to him.

All evidence points to the author having been a Philadelphian who desired to play a joke upon the Europeans. The author was, as has been related, little acquainted with the real appearance of a balloon, and was a person who

must have had little scientific qualifications, which would indicate that Hopkinson should be acquitted of the authorship. If, as seems probable, the hoax was prepared in Philadelphia, Hunt also, would be acquitted, for before April, or even March, 1784, a month or two before the letter appeared, many persons in England were familiar with the shape and appearance of balloons and actually had seen one. Such persons scarcely would have given thought to an aerial machine having forty-seven balloons as an ascensive force. It also is inconceivable that any scientist would have advocated such a machine in view of the tremendous difficulty of filling and managing forty-seven balloons, even small ones.

Having eliminated two of the persons who were capable of having perpetrated a hoax, it might be well to examine the evidence that points to the remaining person who has been mentioned as possibly guilty. This is Colonel Thomas Forrest. Readers of "Watson's Annals" need not be told that he was regarded as a practical joker. He also was the author of a comic opera called "The Disappointment," which so satirized some of the "Characters" in Philadelphia at the time, as well as having a realistic touch that scarcely could be presented even to an Eighteenth century audience, that after it had been announced for production in the old Southwark Theatre in 1767, it was withdrawn. It was printed, however, and in 1796 another edition with the text considerably enlarged was issued. Neither of these productions bore the name of the real author, but went out into the world as the work of Andrew Barton. Forrest, therefore, was a person who was regarded as a playful sort of man by the persons who knew him; as a practical joker and as a satirist. That he may be the author of the Balloon Hoax seems plausible, although there is no direct evidence connecting him with the story.

All that can be proved at this time, is that the ascension did not take place, and that the account of the first balloon ascension in America was a hoax.

ORDERLY BOOK OF GEN. JOHN PETER GABRIEL
MUHLENBERG, MARCH 26-DECEMBER 20, 1777.

(Continued from Vol. xxxiv., page 477.)

G. O. HEAD QUARTERS, Sep^r 27th, 1777

Major Gen^l for tomorrow Green
Brigad^r Conway
Field Officers . . . Col. Cook & L^t Col. Nevill
Brigade Major Day
Field Officers for Piquet from 3^d Maryland Reg^t

John White Esq^r is appointed Volunteer Aid du Camp to Gen^l Sullivan and is to be respected as such. L^t Col. Hendricks is appointed to the Rank of Col. to the 1st Virginia Reg^t in the Room of Col. Read Deceas'd. Major Syms of the 13th Virg^a Reg^t to be L^t Col. of the 6th in the room of Col. Hendricks promoted. Cap^t Cambel to be Major in the 13th Virg^a Reg^t in the Room of Major Syms promoted. The Brigadiers or Officers Commanding Brigades are to parade their respective Brigades at 8 o'clock tomorrow morning and under their own Eyes have exact Returns made of the Officers and men present on the Grounds, which returns they are immediately afterwards to transmit to the Adj^t Gen^l such of their officers as are absent and not on Duty, they are as speedily as possible to order to join their Corps. And if any such Officers got taken by the Enemy, they will not be exchang'd. Three parties of 150 each are to parade tomorrow morning at Sun rise, at the park of Artillery with One Days prov^{ions} Cook'd but have their Packs at their Quarters, Major Innis, Major Sneed & Major Howell each to Command one of the Parties.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS Sep^r 30th 1777

Major Gen^l for tomorrow . . . L^d Sterling
 Brigad^r Foreman
 Field Officers Col. Syms . Major Bloomfield
 Brigade Major Johnson
 Field Officer for Piquet . . . L^t Col. Irvine

A Flag will go to the Enemy's Lines tomorrow morning all persons who have anything to send in, are to have them ready at Head Quarters by 7 o'clock in the morning.

One Surgeon's Mate from each Division who can be best spared is to go to Bethlehem forthwith to bring down to the Army the Medicine Chests of their respective Divisions.

One Hundred and fifty men from Gen^l Sullivans, Greens, Stephen's, and L^d Sterling's Divisions and Gen^l Nash's Brigade are to be selected this Day and a like proportion from the other Brigades those men are always to Carry their axes with them to march with the Piquets when the Army moves to prepare Timber for and repair the Roads, when arrived at the new Encampment are to Cut firewood for their respective Brigades. The Brig^e Q^r Masters are constantly to go with those men and direct them in the Business above mentioned. For these Services the Axe Men are to be excus'd from all Guards and other ordinary Duty, but when an action is expected they are to deliver their Axes to the Brig^e Masters who are to be accountable for the Axes of their Brigades, and join in their several Corps when on Duty as axe men, they are always to Carry their Arms with them. A list of their names is without delay is to be given to the Brigade Q^r Master by their respective Brigade Majors.

Advertisement.

Gen^l Green lost at New Hanover Camp a Brass Pistol both stock & Barrel with 2 Capital Letters, on the Stock H. K. any person who has found it and will return it to the Gen^l will receive 20 Dollars reward.

An Orderly Horse from each Reg^t of Horse to attend daily at Head Quarters.

G. O. HEAD QUARTERS, SKIPPACK, Oct^r 1st 1777

Major Gen^l for tomorrow . . . Stephens
 Brigadier Nash
 Field Officers . . . Col. Dayton Major Smith
 Brigade Major Williams
 For Piquet Major Hupper

The Comm^r in Chief approves the following Sentences of a Gen^l Court Martial held Sep^r 28th whereof Col. Wood was President. Viz' L^t Rob^t Cragg of Col. Hazen's Reg^t charg'd with repeated disobedience of Orders acquitted. Adjut^t Kincade acting Brigade Major to Gen^l Scott charg'd with not bringing his Piquets on the ground in Proper Time, acquitted.

Detail as Order'd Yesterday.

Whenever a field Officer is named for an Duty and he is Sick or absent, the Brigade major of the Brigade to which such Officer belongs is to warn another in his Stead and report his name to the Adj^t Gen^l. When Aid du Camps go from Camp with their Major Gen^l A Brigade Major of the Division is to be notified thereof and directed to attend at Head Quarters for Orders at Orderly Time.

The Brigade Quarter Masters are to apply to the Q. M. G. for their Quota of Axes for the purpose mention'd in yesterday's Orders, no more Fences to be burned in future, on any pretence whatever if unavoidable necessity does not compel us to it, license must first be obtained from the Comm^r in Chief.

The Pay Master of Regt^s and Corps are to bring in their pay Rolls for the Month of August properly examin'd & certified, that Warrants may be given for payment.

After Orders.

The whole Army are to strike Tents tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock and get ready to march, at Nine the March is to

begin, Gen' Sullivan's Division leading followed by Lincoln's, McDougalls, Greens, these form the first Line, then the Park of Artillery, then the 2^d Line in this Order. Sterling's Division, Nash's, Stephen's, Gen' Sullivans to beat a march as a signal for marching, the beat to be Continued by the others successively, the whole are to encamp on the new ground in the same order. Gen' Armstrong is to move at the same time by the shortest route to the right of the First Line, and Gen' Smallwood and Gen' Foreman to the left of the first Line, on the Ground the Q. M. G. will point out, the waggons to go in the Rear of the Army in the order of the Brigade to which they belong all the Tent Waggons first.

The Brig^d Quarter Masters are to see that Vaults be dug immediately upon the Army's arrival on its own Ground, and any Soldiers caught easing himself elsewhere is instantly to be made prisoner and punish^d by Order of a Reg^t Court Martial. The Brigade Q^r Masters are without fail to see all Offal buried every morning and are to apply to their Brigades for men for that purpose. Reg^t or Brigade Q^r Masters failing in the duties here required of them are forthwith to be arrested, some person from each distinct Body or Brigade of Militia is to attend daily at Head Quarters for orders at noon.

Each Brigade Q^r Master is to make an immediate return of the number of Baggage Waggons in his Brigade to the Q. M. G. An officer from each Brigade is to remain till the Troops have marched off then for to make search and bring on all Stragglers.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS Oct.^r 2^d 1777

Major Gen ^l for to-morrow	. Sullivan
Brigadier	 McDougall
Field Officers Col. Chambers	L ^t Col. Craig
Brigade Major	 Nicholls
Field Officer for Piquet	Major Benezet

Lost yesterday a Brass Barrel pistol, brass mounted, the words Jones, Cornhill, London on the Barrel and on the Lock.

B. O. Oct. 3^d 1777

Parole Hampton. *C. Sign*, Harlem, Hanover

The Comm^s Officers of Reg^{ts} are to see that their men have three Days Provisions Cook'd (this day included) their men are likewise to be furnish'd with 40 Rounds of Cart-ridges p^r Man their gun, Flints &c. in the best order.

G. O. HEAD QUARTERS. Oct. 3^d 1777

Twenty men from each Brigade who are not fit to endure the Fatigues of a March either for want of Shoes or otherwise with a Sub. from each Brigade, to parade at the Park of Artillery at 5 o'clock this afternoon. Two field Officers will be there to take the Command of them who will receive their instructions from the Major Gen^l of the Day. Three empty waggons from each Brigade with good horses to parade in the Road in rear of the 2^d Line and move on in the rear when the Army marches.

The whole Army to be under arms this evening at 6 o'clock they are to leave their packs, Blankets and every-thing except arms, accoutrements ammunition and provision they are to take their provision in their Habersacks, such as have not Habersacks are to take their provision in their Pockets, or in such other manner as may be most Convenient. All the Pioneers of each Reg^t & Division who are fit to march are to move in front of their respective Divisions with all the Axes they can muster.

TIM^y PICKERING ADJ^T GEN^L

G. O. HEAD QUARTERS Oct. 5th 1777

Major Gen^l for this Day L^d Sterling
 Brigadier Scott
 Field Officers 1 of Col. McDougals Brigade and Major
 For Piquet Major Crawford

Four Hundred men for Piquet to parade precisely at 6 o'clock at the Park of Artillery.

After Orders.

The Officers commanding Regt^s are to make returns of the Cartridges wanting to compleat their men to 40 Rounds p^r Man and draw the materials for making them at the Park of Artillery early tomorrow morning. One attentive officer from each Regt^s is to be present and superintend the making of the cartridges for the Regt^s and see that they are well made up and the materials not wasted. The Arms to be clean'd and put in good order immediately, such as are charg'd and cannot be drawn are to be discharg'd at noon tomorrow under the direction of their Officers. Each Regt^s is to draw 12 cartridges a Man ready made at the Park of Artillery besides the above materials.

Small parties of Horse are tomorrow morning to be sent up the different Roads above the Present encampment of the Army as much as 10 Miles in order to stop all Soldiers and turn them back to the Army.

All the Detachments of Horse are to be Collected as soon as possible to one place as near as may be to the Army, except the two parties under Capt^s Lee and Craig.

Returns as exact as possible are to be made of the killed wounded and missing in the action of yesterday, and deliver'd to the Comm^r in Chief at 4 o'clock tomorrow afternoon, the Brig^e Major will be punctual in this matter and where there is no Brigade Major, the Brigad^r or Officers commanding Brigades are without delay to appoint Persons to do their Duty one Set of Columns are to shew the kill'd of the different Ranks, 2^d the wounded and a third set of columns the missing.

The Comm^r in Chief returns his thanks to the gen^{ls} and other Officers and Men Concern'd yesterday in the attack on the enemy's left wing for the Spirit and bravery shewn in driving the Enemy from Field to Field and altho' an unfortunate Fog joined with the Smoke prevent'd the different Brigades seeing and supporting each other, or sometimes even distinguishing their Fire from the Enemy's and from some other Causes, which as yet cannot be well ac-

counted for, they finally retreated, they nevertheless see that the Enemy are not proof against a vigorous attack and may be put to flight when boldly push'd. This they will remember and assure themselves that on the next Occasion by a proper exertion of the Powers which God has given them and inspired by the Cause of Freedom in which they are engaged they will be victorious.

The Comm^r in Chief not seeing the Engagement wth the Enemy's right wing, desires the Gen^l Officers who Commanded there, to thank those Officers and Men who behav'd with becoming bravery, and those of either Wing who behav'd otherwise to be reported.

Detail for Piquet the same as last settled, they are to Parade at 11 o'clock in the Forenoon and afterwards at 8 o'clock as usual.

Major Gen ^l tomorrow		Stephens
Brigadier		Muhlenburg
Field Officers	. Col. Clark and Col. Connor	
Brigade Major		Peers
For Piquet		Major Miller

HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 6th 1777

Parole Fredricksburgh *C. Sign* Halifax, Frankfort

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow		Sullivan
Brigadier		Conway
Field Officers	Col. Richardson L ^t Col. Park	
Brigade Major		Day
For Piquet		Major Ball

The Commanding Officers of Regt^s are without delay to send to the provost for such of their men as have been tried and their Sentence publish'd. The Battalion of Militia from Virginia Command^d by Col. Rumney are to be attached to and to do Duty with Gen^l Scotts' Brigade. Brig^r Gen^l Puliske will make return of the Horse as soon as possible. A pair of brass mounted Pistols with white metal locks,

were taken from Gen^l Muhlenburgs Horse at Head Quar^s 20 Dollars reward will be given to any person who will bring them to him and no Questions ask'd. A Pistol with 2 Brass barrels was lost by Cap^t Henry Lee of the light Horse, his Cypher, (H. L.) was on the Thumb piece 20 Dollars will be given to the Person who will bring it to him.

John Lawrence Esq^r who was appointed on the 6th of Sep^r Extra Aid du Camp to the Comm^r in Chief, is now appointed Aid du Camp to him, and is to be obey'd and respected as Such.

Thomas Mullins Esq^r appointed the 3^d ins^t to act as Brigade Major to Gen^l Conway, is now for his Gallant Behaviour on the 4th ins^t appointed Brigade Major to Gen^l Conway and is to be obey'd & respected as such.

The Commanding Officers of Corps are every morning to report the Strength of them to the Brig^{rs} or Officers Commanding Brigades that it may be known daily what Stragglers have join'd. Buckshot are to be put into all the cartridges which are hereafter to be made.

D. O.

CAMP at PERKIOMING Oct^r 7th 1777

The Gen^l returns his sincere thanks to the Officers & Soldiers in general of his Division for their behaviour on the Action at German Town, nevertheless he has the mortification to hear some few behave'd ill, who are arrested and reported to his Excell^y. The Gen^l has the highest confidence in the Troops of his Division and in the Spirit and good Conduct of the Officers. He from the best information has the mortification to assure the Troops they fled from Victory, and he wishes most ardently, that the Troops may be convinced of the necessity of retreating and rallying briskly, and that a partial Retreat, to change a position is often necessary and therefore a Particular Retreat is not to be Considered general, without the order is such. Notwithstanding the Fog depriv'd us of the Opportunity of seeing how to Conduct our near approach, at the Enemy's confusion and giving them a Complete route, which beyond

a Doubt we should have done, if the Weather had been Clear, nevertheless he has the satisfaction to assure the Troops, the Enemy suffer'd very severely.

The Arms and Ammunition are to be put in good order as soon as possible and everything got in readiness for Attack and defence.

N. GREEN M. Genl.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 7th 1777

Major Genl for tomorrow	Green
Brigadier	Smallwood
Field Officers L ^t Col Butler Major Vaughan	
Brigade Major	Platts
For Piquet	Major Nichols

The State Reg^t from Virginia to supply the place of the 9th Reg^t of Virgin^a in Muhlenburgh's Brigade, and do Duty there till further orders. John Farndon of Col. Hartley's Reg^t found guilty of the crime of Desertion and Sentenc'd by the Genl Court Martial held the 25th of Sep^r last to suffer Death, is to be executed tomorrow at 12 o'clock. The situation of the Army frequently not admitting of the regular performance of Divine Service on Sundays the Chaplains of the Army are forthwith to meet together and agree upon some method of performing it at other Times which method they will make known to the Comm^r in Chief. Divers Swords as well as other things have lately been stolen from Officers by Soldiers. Officers are requested to take notice of such things seen in the possession of their men and have them taken care of & advertis'd.

Taken from Head quarters on the 4th ins^t about Sunset a pair of neat silver mounted pistols with Dog heads & on the thumb piece the Letters C. G. in a Cypher whoever will bring them to Head Quarters shall receive 20 Dollars and no Questions Ask'd.

The Pay Master Genl is at Genl Conways Quarters at Thetwyler's Mills where he will attend the Business of his Department.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS 8th October 1777

The Troops to March at 8 o'clock this morning by the left in this Order. 1st Gen^l Smallwoods Militia 2^d Gen^l Green's 3^d Stephens, 4th McDougal 5th Nash, 6th Park of Artillery, 7th Wayne 8th Sullivan 9th L^d Sterling, 10th Armstrongs Militia 11th Tent Waggon in the order of the Troops to which they belong then the Commissaries Waggon in the same Order, then the spare Ammunition Waggon, then the Q. M. G.

A Sub and 12 Men of each Brigade to stay on the Ground till the Troops have march'd off to collect and bring on all Stragglers.

The Brigade Majors are to make returns tomorrow of the number of Arms and Accoutrements wanting in the several Regt^s of their Brigades in order to their being Completed without delay, they are also at the same time to make returns of the number of Tin Cannisters now in the Brigades.

The Battalion of Militia from Virg^a Commanded by Major Pickett are to be attached and do Duty with Gen^l Woodford's brigade.

The Men's pouches are to be well greas'd at least once a week, especially that part of the Flap which immediately covers the Cartridges, the better to preserve them from injury in Case of Rain. The Commanding Officers of Corps will pay attention to this matter.

The Commanding Officers of Corps are immediately to select the most suitable of their Men and set them to making Moccusins for their Corps. The Commissaries are to order the Skins of the heads and Legs of Bullocks taken off and applied to that use, so far as they will go. The Commissaries are also to issue the Raw Hides for the purpose upon the Returns of the Officers Commanding Corps.

John Farndon of Hartley's Reg^t sentenc'd to suffer death for the Crime of Desertion to the Enemy and was to have been executed this day is to be executed tomorrow at 12 o'clock. A detachment of 60 men from each Brigade is to

parade at the Park of Artillery at that time to attend the Execution.

Advertisement.

Lost accidentally at the Commencem^t of the Action of the 4th Inst. a Silver Mounted Screw Barrel Pistol, on the Top of the Breach on a Ferril of Silver is a Cypher of I. C. double, and just under the Pan on the Barrel Rupert Rigg, whoever will bring the said Pistol to Major Reed of Maj^r Gen^l Sullivan's Division shall receive 20 Dollars reward.

G. O. HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 9th 1777.

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	. . .	Stephens
Brigad ^r		Wayne
Field Officers	. .	Col. Swift Lt. Col. Ross
Brigade Major		Williams
for Picquet		Major Foree

By G. O. of 13th Sep^r a distribution of Tents was thus directed, one Soldiers Tent for the Field Officers of each Reg^t one d^o for 4 Commis^r Officers one d^o for every 8 non Commission'd and 1 d^o for 8 privates.

The Commanding Officers of Reg^{ts} are instantly to examine into the number of Tents and Cause all beyond the foregoing allowance to be Collected and deliver'd to the Brig^e Q^r Masters.

In the first place to supply those Corps in the Brigade who are short in that allowance, and the Residue to be deliver'd over to the Q^r M. G. to supply the Militia, and such other Corps as are destitute. The Commander in Chief expects the Gen^l Officers, and those Commanding Brigades will see this order carried into effectual and immediate execution. Brig^r Gen^l Nash will be interr'd at 10 o'clock this forenoon, with Military Honours, at the place where the Road the Troops march'd in Yesterday comes into the great Road. All Officers whose Circumstances will admit of it, will attend and pay this respect to a brave Man who died in defence of his Country.

The Execution of John Farndon is postpon'd till tomorrow at noon.

The General Court Martial whereof Col. Broadhead is President is to sit tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock at the Horsemans Tent by the Artillery Park.

After Orders.

The Gen' Officers are without delay to have the Roll of Officers call'd and Settled without delay and such as are absent and not sick, wounded or on Command are to be order'd peremptorily to join their respective Corps, and those who are absent without leave, are to be immediately reported to the Comm' in Chief, they are also to report the number of Blankets, Stockings and Shoes and other necessities to Compleat each Man one Suit. Three Field returns of the Troops are to be made under the immediate inspection of the Gen' Officers, for this purpose the Corps are to be muster'd when the Rolls is called, and if the weather permits, those returns are to be made tomorrow afternoon sign'd by the Major Gen' or Commanding Officers, commanding Divisions. The Brigad^s or Officers Commanding Brigades are immediately to report the number of Men of those return'd, missing after the Action of the 4th Ins^t who have join'd their Brigades since the return of the Kill'd &c., and these reports they will Continue to make daily to the Commander in Chief. If Col. Crawford is in Camp he is desired to Call at Head Quarters as soon as may be.

B. O.

Oct^r 10th 1777

The Commanding Officers of the Regt^s are immediately to examine in person, and regulate the number of Tents in their respective Regt^s agreeable to G. O. of the 13th of Sep^r and all supernumerary Tents to be deliver'd this morning to the Brigade Q^r Master. The Guard at the Commissary's Waggons to be reliev'd this morning from the Brigade as also the Guard at Gen' Green's.

G. O. HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 10th 1777.

Parole.

C. Sign.

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	Sullivan
Brig ^r	Scott
Field Officers	Col. Marshal, Major Hay
Brig ^e Major	Cox
for Piquet	Major Francis Murray.

The Chaplains of the Army are to meet tomorrow at 12 o'clock in the Rear of the Artillery Park for the purposes mention'd in the G. O. of the 7th Ins^t.

The Paymaster Gen^l will attend the Business of his Department at Gen^l Weedons Quarters in Gen^l Greens Division at Mr. Finnis's House.

A Court of enquiry consisting of 4 Members and Major G^l L^d Sterling presidents, to sit at 12 o'clock to-day at the Presidents Quarters and examine into the Conduct of Major Gen^l Sullivan and the Expedition Commanded by him to Staten Island in the month of August last, Major Taylor and others who can give information of this matter are to attend, but if the Court see Cause to postpone the Examination for want of evidence (after hearing what Major Taylor has to urge on that head) they are to do it accordingly—Gen^l McDougal, Gen^l Knox, Col. Spencer and Col. Clark members.

The Gen^l being inform'd that much provision is wasted by the irregular manner in which it is drawn and Cook'd, does in earnest Terms exhort the Officers Comm^d Corps, to look into and prevent abuses of this kind, and in very express Terms also, desire that they will see their Men have provision by them ready for any emergency, and moreover that orders both as to Time and Manner, ardently wishing that the necessity of a rigid Compliance with them may be deeply impress'd upon the minds of every Officer who ought to Consider how impracticable it is to carry on any Military operation without it. It is not for every Officer to know the Principles upon which every Order issues, and to

judge how far they may or may not be dispensed with or suspended, but their duty to Carry them into Execution with the utmost punctuality and Exactness. They are to Consider that military movements are like the working of a clock, and will go equally regular and easy if every Officer does His Duty, but without it, be as easily disorder'd, because neglect in any one part, like the stopping of a wheel, disorders the whole. The Gen' expects therefore that every Officer will duly consider the importance of this observation. Their own reputation and the duty they owe their Country, claims it of them, and he earnestly calls upon them to do it.

The Gen' directs that the Arms shall be put in the best order without loss of Time, Ammunition Completed and everything in readiness against a sudden Call, if such should be made upon us. Those who want Arms are to be supplied immediately by Order from the Adj' Gen' but at the foot of each return an account is to be render'd how the the deficiency arises.

Promotions in Consequence of the late Death and Resignations will now take place, as a reward to the merit of deserving Officers. The Succession in which they are to be made agreeable to G. O. is to be reported by the Gen' Officers of each Division or Brigade after Consulting the Field Officers of the Regt^s they belong to. Officers who are under the imputation of Cowardice, or those whose Characters are in other respects impeachable are to be noted, as the Gen' is determin'd to discriminate between the good & bad. This order is to be confined to Promotion.

No near appointments will take place at this Time in the weak state of the Regt^s.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 11th 1777

Major Gen' for tomorrow	. . .	Green
Brigadier		Muhlenburg
Field Officers	Col. Chandler, Lt. Col. Nelson	
Brigade Major		
Field Officers for Piquet	. .	Major Sumner

The Court of enquiry of which L^d Sterling is President now sitting at the Presidents Quarters, is to enquire into the charge against Brig^r G^l Wayne, Viz^t. that he had timely notice of the Enemys intention to attack the Troops under his Command on the night of the 20th Ult^o and notwithstanding that intelligence, he neglected making a disposition untill it was too late, either to annoy the enemy or make a Retreat, without the utmost Danger and Confusion. The President will give Notice of the time, when the Court can enter on the Enquiry, then the parties and evidences are to attend.

A Flag will go to the Enemy's Lines on Monday next at nine in the Morning, all persons who have Letters or other things to send in, must have them at Head Quarters by that time.

Twice a week, Viz^t Wednesdays and Saturdays, the Officers of each Company are carefully to inspect the Arms, Ammunition & Accoutrement of their Men, to see that they are in perfect order, and that nothing is wanting, at the first inspection they are to take an exact account of every Article belonging to each Man, and if afterwards any be missing, they are immediately to report the same to the officer Commanding their Reg^t that the matter may be enquired into, if he judges it proper by a Reg^t Court Martial, & the Delinquent punish'd if deserving it, and charg'd with the Articles lost to be deducted from his Wages.

The Militia from the Counties of Prince William, Culpeper, Soudon & Berkely in the state of Virginia are to be form'd into a Brigade and be under the Command of Col. William Crawford, the Q. M. G^l and the Commissary Gen^l are to appoint persons therein to do the Duties of their respective Departments.

All the Troops that came from Picks Kill under the Command of Gen^l McDougal, Varnum and Huntingdon (Malcoms Reg^t excepted) are to be thrown into 2 Brigades in such Manner as those Gen^{ls} shall think best. A report of which is to be made to the Comm^r in Chief for his further

Orders. Col. Malcom's Reg^t is to join Gen^l Conways Brigade.

Twelve light Horse with an Officer are to Mount Guard every Day with the Pickets and be dispos'd off at the different Piquets for the purpose of Conveying early intelligence in such a way as the Major Gen^l of the Day shall direct.

The Commanding officers of all those Companies which was raised as part of the 16th Additional Battalions, and at different Times annexed to other Reg^ts are to make immediate returns to y^e Adjutant Gen^l of their strength and in what Reg^t they are now doing Duty.

The Comm^r in Chief has the pleasure to inform the Army that Congress has in an unanimous Resolve express'd their thanks to the officers and men concern'd in the attack on the Enemy near German Town on the 4th Inst. for their exertion on that Occasion, and hopes the Approbation of that Hon^{ble} Body will Stimulate them to still nobler Efforts on every future occasion.

Cap^t Paul Parker of Col. Hartley's Reg^t is appoin^d to do the Duty of Brigade Major in Gen^l Waynes Brigade till further Orders and is to be respected and obey'd as such.

All firing of Guns is absolutely forbidden without License first obtain'd by the Major Gen^l of the Day, and the instant a gun is fired, a serj^t and file of Men shall be sent to catch the Villain who is thus wasting ammunition and alarming the Camp, All Officers are strictly required to see this Order put in execution.

The Brigade Major of the Day is always to bring in 4 Drums and 4 Fifers to the Parade, to be distributed to the Guards if necessary, or otherwise disposed of as the Brig^t of the Day shall order.

Was found in the possession of a Soldier of the 1st Pennsylv^a Reg^t a Silver Watch, any person giving a Description of the same, may hear of her by applying to Adj^t McCormick of y^e 1st Pennsylv^a Reg^t

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 12th 1777

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	Stephens
Brigadier	Smallwood
Brigadier Major	Peers
for Piquet	Lt. Col. Davis

Major Lockart of the 3^d Reg^t of North Carolina is promoted to the Rank of Lieu^t Col. in the 8th Reg^t from the same State in the Room of Col. Ingram resign'd. Cap^t Henry Dickson of the 1st Carolina Reg^t promoted to the Rank of Major in the 3^d Reg^t of the same State. The Comm^r in Chief approves the following sentences of a Court Martial held the 3^d ins^t whereof Col. Josiah Parker was president Viz^o Ensign Cassen of the 4th Reg^t charg'd with accusing Ensign Ford of Cowardice and getting Drunk in the morning and behaving in an ungentleman like manner, found guilty of the charges against him and Sentenc'd to be discharg'd from the Service. Ensign Thomas Shank of 10th Pennsy^a Reg^t charg'd with stealing 2 pair Shoes from Lieut Adam's Reg^o Q^r Master Serg^t to the 10th Pennsylv^a found guilty of the charge exhibited against him & sentenc'd to be discharg'd from the Service. Major Forrest of Col. Proctor's Reg^t of Artillery charg'd with neglect of Duty and with disobedience of Orders to the prejudice of the Service, good order & military Discipline and with breaking his arrest, found guilty of the two first charges only, Sentenc'd to be reprimanded in Gen^l Orders, it appears from the Evidence that Major Forrest's Conduct was highly reprehensible because of such a nature as tends to the foundation of Order in any Army. When an officer is ordered to do anything in the line of his Duty he ought upon the propriety of the measure, but execute it in the best manner he can, remembering that implicit obedience which Constitutes true Discipline is essential to the success and even existence of an Army, it is the ardent wish of the Comm^r in Chief that the duty of the Camp may be perform'd with the greatest exactness and regularity and he desires that the Major Gen^l

Brigad^r Gen^l and Field Officers of the Day attend the Parade constantly at the Guard Mounting and that the guards are duly marched off, and everything conducted with propriety. Henceforward the guards are to mount at 9 o'clock in the morning. The officers have now an opportunity of attending to the Discipline of the Army every Day when the weather permits. The Corps are to be turned out and Exercis'd in the most essential Exercises, particularly in the Priming & Loading, forming, advancing & retreating, breaking & rallying, and no pains are to be spared to improve the Troops in these points. All parties and witnesses relative to the charges against Gen^l Wayne are to attend at the Court of enquiry at Lord Sterling's Quarters tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock. The Q. M. G. is to provide proper paper immediately that the several Corps may be furnish'd without delay.

After Orders.

For the better security of the Ammunition, each Brigade Q^r M^r is early tomorrow morning to go with ten Axe Men, and five other Men of his Brigade, and collect with the utmost care and dispatch all the Horses he can find, at this and the late encampment of the Army, and immediately upon his return, report the number he shall have collected. He will take a Waggon with him.

HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 13th 1777.

Parole.

C. Sign

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow . . .	Sullivan
Brigadier	Varnum
Field Officers . Col. Bradley L' Col. Green	
Brigade Major	Day Field Officer
For Piquet	Major Sterrit

The sending a Flag to the Enemy's Lines will be defer'd till tomorrow morning, nine o'clock.

Those Battalions and Corps that have join'd the Army since the 3^d instant are to attend to the Orders of that day, with regard to making out their muster Rolls, an immediate

attention to this Duty of every Officer who has not already perform'd it.

It is with real grief and amazement that the Gen^l observes by the late Returns how deficient of Arms and accoutrements the Continental Troops are, he directs that they may be speedily supplied with Musquets, and if there is not a sufficient number of Cartouch Boxes, that the Tin Boxes be taken from those who have Cartouch Boxes to supply the defect of those who have none. After this the Gen^l positively Orders that the Arms, Ammunition and accoutrements be examin'd once a day by an Off^r of each Company. That this may certainly be done, he expects the Commanding Officer of each Regiment will give particular attention to the Duty here enjoin'd, he also recommends it to the Gen^l Officers as a matter well worthy of their Care. Any Soldier after this who shall lose, sell or otherwise dispose of his accoutrem^{ts}, Arms or Cloathing, shall be punish'd in the most exemplary manner without the smallest mitigation. As there are not spare Cartouch Boxes at this time to supply the Militia, Col. Crawford is desired to use his utmost skill and industry to procure Horns and pouches to carry their Ammunition in, or to adopt any other method, he may upon Consulting his Officers find men expeditious he is to appoint some Active person acquainted with the Duty as Brig^e Major Protem, who will be allow'd pay during the time he acts. As great and many Valuable advantages would result from having the Arms of a Division or even of a Brigade of the same Corps, the Commander in Chief directs that each officer Commanding a Brigade would have a return instantly made to him of the different Calibers and number of each kind in his Brigade, and that as soon as this is done Major Gen^l Sullivan would call all the General Officers, and Officers Commanding Brigades together, and see if such a disposition of Arms can be effected as many happy consequences may flow from it.

Detail as yesterday, except that Hazen's, Waynes, Hamtons, Maxwells, Conways and the North Carolina Brigade

give Captains for Piquet in addition to their other Detail, and the other six Brigades to give no Captains tomorrow.

Advertisements.

Found a pair of Screw Barrel Pistols, the owner proving his property may hear of them at Gen^l Greens Quarters.

Found this day a Silver Watch, the owner proving his property may receive it a Gen^l Greens Quarters.

Found by a Soldier in the Corp of Artillery a few days after the Battle of Brandywine, a Hanger, the Owner may have it by applying to Col. Crane.

A. O.

Oct^r 13th 1777.

Altho' orders have been given to Compleat the Army to 40 rounds p^r Man, the Gen^l did not intend that they should be distributed to the Men till further Orders, except so far as should be necessary to fill the Cartridge Boxes & Tin Cannisters, all above that number are to be collected immediately and deposited in a good cover'd Waggon of the Brigade or Division, no delay is to be made in this matter, lest the Cartridges be spoiled or lost.

The Companies rais'd by Cap^{ts} Steel, Trevior, Kearsly & Calderwood are to join Col. Malcom's Reg^t and compose part of it. What Blankets, Breeches and Shoes are in the Clothier's Store, are to be distributed tomorrow upon application to him, without further Orders.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 14th 1777.

Parole

C. Sign

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	Green
Brigadier	Huntingdon
Field Officers .	Col. Stephens L ^t Col. Lynly
Brigade Major	Plath
For Piquet	Major Bruster

The Officers on Guard are to make report of them to the Officers of the Day, who will report the same to the Adj^t Gen^l.

Doctor Craig Director of the Hospital at Reading, has sent a List of the wounded there, whose Blankets and other necessities remain in Camp. The Commanding Officers of Reg^{ts} are immediately to make most diligent search for all such necessities belonging to the wounded of their respective Regiments, Collect them together, and lodge them with all possible dispatch at the Q^r Master Gen^l Q^{rs}. The wounded are now suffering for want of them, and not a moment is to be lost in relieving those Brave Men who have suffer'd in their Country's Cause. The Brigade Majors are to send Lists of their names to the officers Comm^d Reg^{ts} without delay.

Hitchcock Esq^r is appointed to do the Duty of Brigade Major in the 2^d Maryland Brigade (late Deborahs) and is to be respected accordingly. John Lawson Esq^r Adj^t to the Prince William Militia is appointed to do the Duty of Brigade Major in the Brigade of Militia under the Command of Col. Crawford and is to be respected as such. Richard Emory is appointed to do the Duty of Brigade Major in the 1st Maryland Brigade and is to be respected accordingly.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 15th '77

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow . . .	Stephens
Brigadier	Weedon
Field Officers . . .	Col. Lewis Lt. Col. Nagle
Brigade Major	Parker
Field Officer for Piquet .	Major Richardson

The Gen^l has the repeated pleasure of informing the Army of the success of the Troops under the Command of Gen^l Gaites over Gen^l Burgoyne on the 7th Ins^t the Action Commenc'd about 3 o'clock afternoon between the Piquets of the Two Armies which was reinforce'd on both sides. The Contest was warm and continued with obstinacy till evening, when our Troops gain'd the advanc'd Lines of the Enemy and encamp'd on that ground all night. The Enemy fled and left behind them 330 Tents, with Kettles

boiling with corn. Eight Brass field pieces (Two 12 and six 6 Pounders) upwards of 200 of their Dead, and the Baggage of their flying Army. Gen' Frazier is among the Dead. Our Troops took 550 non Commiss^d Officers and Privates prisoners besides Sir Francis Carr Clark aid du Camp to Gen' Burgoyne a Q^r Master Gen' (said to be Carleton) the Comm^s Officers of Artillery of a Foreign Brigade and of the British Grenadiers and a number of inferior Rank. Two of our Generals Lincoln and Arnold were wounded in the Leg, besides these our Troops suffer'd but very little they behaved with great bravery and intrepidity and have thus triumph'd over the Valour of Vetran Troops.

When the last account came away Gen' Burgoyne's Army was retreating and our's pursuing.

The Gen' congratulates the Troops upon this signal Victory, the 3^d Capital Advantage which under Divine Providence we have gain'd in that Quarter and hopes it will prove a powerful Stimulus to the Army under his immediate Command, at least to equal their northern Brethren in brave and intrepid exertions when call'd thereto. The General wishes them to Consider this is the Grand American Army, and that of course great things are expected of it. It is the Army of whose Superior prowess some have boasted. What shame then and Dishonour will attend us if we suffer ourselves in every instance to be outdone. We have a Force sufficient (by the favour of Heaven) to Crush our Foe, and nothing is wanting but a Spirited persevering exertion of it to which besides the motives before mentioned. Duty and the love of our Country irresistibly impel us the Effect of such powerful Motives (no Man who possesses the Spirit of a Soldier can withstand) Spurr'd on by them the Gen' assures himself that on the next occasion, his Troops will be Compleatly successful. In Honour of the Northern Army, and to celebrate their Victory, thirteen pieces of cannon are to be discharged, at the Artillery Park at 5 o'clock this afternoon previous to which the Brigades and Corps are to be drawn out on their respective

Parades, and those Orders distinctly read to them by their Officers. Those Men in Col. Crawford's Brigade of Militia, whose pieces cannot be drawn are to be discharged at 5 o'clock this afternoon. The Troops are to march tomorrow from the Right at 7 o'clock in the morning. The Major Genl of the Day will point out the Order of March. Brigade Returns are to be made immediately, of all the seamen in the respective Corps of the Army. The Brigadiers and Officers Comm^d Brigades, are without the smallest delay to make strict inquiry about the Tin Cannisters which have been issued to them and report the number now with them, and inform what is become of the rest. In consequence of a representation of the field Officers of Col. Stewart's Regimt^s, Cap^t Patrick Anderson and Lieut. Jacob Meltz of that Reg^t are hereby suspended for their non-attendance and their unworthy Conduct as Officers, their pay is to be stopp'd. A Court of enquiry consisting of five Members one of which Genl Green is to be President, is to sit at the President's Quarters at 3 o'clock this afternoon to enquire into the charges against Brig^{er} Genl Maxwell. All witnesses are to attend at the same time. Brig^{er} General Muhlenburg and Varnum, Col. Stewart and Richardson are appointed members of this Court. A Genl Court Martial of Horse Officers is to sit at Col. Moyland's Quarters tomorrow at nine o'clock in the morning for the Tryal of all Prisoners of the Horse, which shall be brought before them. Col. Moyland is appointed President of this Court. Detail the same as Yesterday, only the six Brigades which furnish'd Captains yesterday are not to do it tomorrow, the other six furnish them, and the North Carolina Brigade is to give but 16 privates for Piquet.

A. O.

As the Army is to march tomorrow at 7 o'clock, the new Piquets are to be on the Grand Parade an hour before agreeable to Genl Orders of the 15th Sept^r. The Brigade Majors will Remember that this was a Standing Order.

G. O. HEAD QUARTERS WORCESTER TOWNSHIP 16th Oct' '77*Parole**C. Sign*

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	Sullivan
Brig ^r	McDougal
Field Officers Col. Martin of Jersey Lt Col. Han.	
Brigade	Major Williams
Piquet	Major Bayard

The Comm. in Chief positively orders that the Horse Encamp compactly in the Rear of the Army, and as near Head Quarters as possible. The Regiments are to continue to draw materials and go on making Cartridges every day with Care and Dispatch and when made they are to be return'd to the Commissary of Military Stores. The Court of enquiry of which Major Gen^l Lord Sterling was President held the 12th Ins^t to examine into the Conduct of Major Gen^l Sullivan in the Expedition Commanded by him to Staten Island in the month of August last, report their opinion as follows. Viz^o The Court after hearing the Evidences against the Conduct of Major Gen^l Sullivan and those produced by him in his defence, and duly Considering the same, are unanimously of opinion that the Expedition against the Enemy on Staten Island was eligible and promised great advantage to the cause of America, that the Expedition was well Concerted, and the orders for the execution proper, and would have succeeded with reputation to the Gen^l & Troops under his Command, had it not in some measure been render'd abortive, by accidents which were out of the power of the Gen^l to foresee or prevent, that Gen^l Sullivan was particularly active in embarking the Troops to the Island, and took every precaution to bring them off, that he made early provision to refresh the Troops of his Division at Elizabeth Town, when they return'd to the Jerseys, and that upon the maturest Consideration of the Evidence in possession of this Court, that he deserves the approbation of his Country and not its Censure. The Court therefore are of opinion, unanimously that he ought

to stand honorably acquitted of every Unsoldierlike Conduct in the Expedition against Staten Island.

Advertisement.

The Camp Equipage of the late Gen^l Nash is to be sold tomorrow Afternoon at 3 o'clock at the Brigade he lately Commanded.

A. O.

The Regt^s Commanded by Col^s Greene, Angel, Durgee and Chandler, are to form one Brigade under the Command of Brig^o Gen^l Varnum. The Regt^s Commanded by Col^s Prentice, Bradley and Swift are to form one Brigade under the Comm^d of Brig^r Gen^l Huntingdon, those two Brigades form a Division to be Commanded by Brig^r Gen^l McDougall.

D. O.

9 o'clock P. M. Oct^r 16 1777.

The 2^d and 5th Virginia Regt^s with the Pennsy^a State Regt^t are to have one Days Provision cook'd & be in readiness to march at Eleven tomorrow. The Recruits belonging to those Regt^s are to be left behind. Gen^l Weedon will take the Comm^d of this detachment he will receive orders at Head Quarters.

HEAD QUARTERS PETER WENTZ'S Oct^r 17th '77.

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	. . .	Stephen
Brig ^r Gen ^l		Wayne
Field Officers	. Col. Johnston Lt. Col. Nevill	
Brigade Major		Hitchcock
Field Officer for Piquet	. . .	Maj ^r Morris

The Troops are to be under Arms at Eleven O'clock this forenoon, except those Men who are employ'd in making Cartridges, and the Gen^l expects that the Commanding Officers of each Regiment daily keep a number of the best Hands diligently working at that business till further Orders. The Troops are to parade with one Days-provisions ready Cook'd.

Advertisement.

Lost on the March from New Hanover to Rawlin's Ford the 28th Sep^r last, a small brass mounted Pistol, screw barrel rifled, a common Lock, Walsingham engrav'd on the plate, whoever has found the same and will bring it to L^t Col. Adams of 7th Maryland Reg^t, Gen^l Sullivans Division, shall receive 16 Dollars reward.

D. O.

11 o'clock P. M.

The 1st Virginia Reg^t in Gen^l Muhlenburg's Brigade, and the 6th in Gen^l Weedons Brigade, are to be in Readiness to March tomorrow morning by Sun rise, L^t Col. Green who comm^{ds} this Detachment will receive Orders at head Quarters.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS PETER WENTZ Oct^r 18th 77

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	. . .	L ^d Sterling
Brigadier Gen ^l		Scott
Field Officers	. L ^t Col. Russel	L ^t Col. Gurney
Brigade Major		Emory
Field Officer for Piquet	. . .	Major Lockart

Detail same as Yesterday, saving that Hazen's, Waynes, Hamptons, Maxwell's, Conways, and Nash's Brigades find Captains in addition to their other details, and the other Brigades do not find Captains.

The Gen^l has his happiness Completed relative to our Success to the northern Army, on the 14th Ins^t Gen^l Burgoyne and his whole Army Surrender'd themselves prisoners of War, let every face brighten, and every heart expand with grateful Joy and Praise to the Supreme Disposer of all human Events, who has granted us this signal Success. The Chaplains of the Army are to prepare short discourses, suited to the Joyful Occasion to deliver to their several Corps and Brigades at 5 o'clock this afternoon, immediately after this 13 pieces of Cannon are to be dis-

charg'd at the Park of Artillery, to be follow'd by a Feu de Joy with blank Cartridges or Powder by every Brigade and Corps of the Army beginning on the right of the Front Line and running on to the left of it, and then instantly beginning on the left of the Second Line and running to the right of it, where it is to end.

The Major Gen' of the Day will superintend and regulate the Feu de Joy. The Officers Commanding Brigades and Corps are to draw out their Men (excepting those on Duty) every day when the Weather permits, to practice the most necessary manouvres, particularly to advance in Line, from hence to form Columns to go through passes & openings in fences, and reduce them again to retire in a Line and Column, and and form again in a word, to perform all those movements which in Action, a woody and inclos'd Country shall make necessary.

Advertisement.

A Horse with a Saddle and Bridle came to Gen' Knox's Quar^s at the last encampment, the owner proving his property may have it again.

D. O.

7 o'clock P. M.

The German Battalion, with what Provisions they have on hand, are to parade in front of the Division Commanded by Gen' McDougall at Sun rise tomorrow morning.

A. O.

HEAD QUARTERS 7 o'clock.

Two Hundred Men with two field Officers, 4 Captains, 8 Sub^s from each Division Viz^e Sullivan, Greene, Wayne, McDougall, L^d Sterling and Stephens are to parade tomorrow morning at Sun rise, in the Field before the front Line, with Arms, Ammunition & at least one Days Provisions Cook'd, but without either Packs or Blankets. Gen' Sullivan will take Command of the whole.

The Men employ'd in making Cartridges are by no means to be taken from that business, but kept diligently about it.

HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 19th 77

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	. . . Sullivan
Brigad ^r Gen ^l	 Huntingdon
Field Officers	. Col. Price Lt. Col. Bready
Brigade Major	 McGowen
Field Officer for Pickett	. Major Cropper

The Brigadiers and officers Commanding Brigades, are to appoint Gen^l Courts Martial in their respective Brigades, for the trial of all non Commiss'd Officers and Privates, now in the provost belonging to their respective Brigades, these Courts are to sit tomorrow morn^g at 9 o'clock and daily afterwards till all the Prisoners are tried, each Court will appoint their Judge advocate.

The Commander in Chief approves the following Sentences of a Gen^l Court Martial, held the 7th and 10th ins^{ts} whereof Colonel Broadhead was president. Viz. Cap^t Crump of the 1st Virg^a Reg^t charged with Cowardice, is found guilty and Sentenc'd to be Cashier'd and his name, place of abode, and his punishm^t publish'd in the News Papers in and about Camp, and in the News' Papers of the particular State he came from, or in which he usually resides. After which it shall be deem'd Scandalous for any Officer to associate with him. Cap^t John Stoner of the 10th Pennsylvania charg'd with leaving the Reg^t in a cowardly manner, in the Action at Chad's ford on Brandywine on the 11th of Sep^r last, found guilty of leaving his Reg^t improperly the 11th of Sep^r last, when an Action was expected but not in a Cowardly manner, and sentenc'd to be reprimanded by the Brig^r of the Brigade the 10th Pennsy^{lv} is in, in presence of the Officers of the Brigade. The Command^r in Chief also approves the following sentences of the same Court Martial, held the 11th and 12th ins^t Viz—L^t Will^m Courts of the 2^d Maryland Reg^t charg'd with Cowardice at the Battle of Brandywine the 11th of Sep^r last also with giving Major Adams of the 7th Maryland Reg^t impertinent and abusive language when he apply'd to him to know the reason of his

Conduct that Day, acquitted of the charges against him. L^t Simon Morgan of the 13th Virg^a Reg^t charg'd with Cowardice on the 4th ins^t acquitted with honor by the Unanimous Opinion of the Court.

Cap^t Henry Shede of the 10th Pennsy^a Reg^t charg'd with absenting himself from the Reg^t without leave for near 2 months, found guilty and Sentenc'd to be cashier'd. L^t Rains of the 15th Virg^a charged with sending a soldier (William. Bluford) to bring Water in a Tin Cartouch Box, found by the unanimous Opinion of the Court not guilty of the charge. The Comm^r in Chief approves the following Sentences of a Gen^l Court Martial of the Brigade of Horse held the 17th ins^t of which Col. Moyland was Presid^t Viz. Lt. Col. Byrd, charg'd with Countermanding the Orders, Col. Bland gave to two Soldiers to fall into their Ranks repeatedly on Parade, and for disobeying the Orders of Col. Bland when directed to order the said Men into their Ranks on the night the Cavalry passed the Schullkill. Col. Byrd admitted the justness of the charge, whereupon the Court Consider'd whether Col. Bland had or had not a right to Command L^t Col. Byrd while a Superior Officer was present, and determin'd that he had not. David Organ a private in Col. Bland's Reg^t confin'd for insolence and Drunkenness, was brought before the Court, but no evidence appearing against him, was Dismiss'd.

Charles Field of Col. Moyland's Reg^t charged with stealing a port manteau, sundry Clothing and a pair of Silver Buckles from Benona Frazee of Col. Sheldon's Reg^t was judged guilty of the Theft, and sentenc'd to receive 50 lashes and to be dismissed from the Service of the American Army.

G^l A. O.

The Reg^l Surgeons are to make returns of the Sick in Camp who are proper Subjects for the Hospital, to Doct^r Cochran at the Q^r M^r Gen^{ls} Quarters tomorrow morning precisely at 8 o'clock.

The whole Army is to be ready to march tomorrow morning at 4 o'clock, with what Tents, necessary Baggage, &c are at the present Encampment. If any of the Troops have not already drawn provision for tomorrow, it is now to be Drawn and Cook'd without delay. The Commissaries of Divisions are instantly to send down Provisions for their respective detachments which marched this morning with orders to reach the Detachment before they stop.

G. O.

H^a QUARTERS 21st Oct^r 77.*Parole**C. Sign*

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	. : .	Sullivan
Brigadier		Conway
Field Officers	. Col. Hall	Major Stubblefield
For Piquet		Major Howard
Brigade Major		Johnston

A Gen^l Court Martial is to sit tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock at the Q^r Mas^r Gen^{ls} Quarters for the trial of all Prisoners which may be brought before them, Col. Grayson is appointed Presid^t of this Court, L^t Col. Heath & Major Smith and one Cap^t from each of the following Brigades, Viz. Muhlenburgs, Woodford's, Waynes, D Hains, 1st Maryland, 2^d Maryland, Two from Gen^l Weedons and 2 from Scott's are to Compose the Members of this Court. A Gen^l Court Martial of the Brigade of Horse of which Col. Bland is to be President, is to sit tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock at the Presidents Q^r^s for the trial of Prisoners. The Court to consist of three field officers, besides the President and of Nine Cap^{ts} of Horse.

Advertisement.

Stray'd or Stolen from a Team in the Service of the 5th Maryland Reg^t in Gen^l Sullivan's Division on the night of the 16th Ins^t. A white Horse about 14 hands high, Stout and well made with a switch Tail, has been Cut on his left Buttock with an Ax which has occasioned a hollow Scar,

also a Grey Mare about 14 hands high, remarkably well made, and is a natural Trotter. She is mark'd a little above the left Flank by the bite of a Horse. Whoever takes up and will deliver the s^d horse & Mare to the Q^r Master of the 5th Maryland Reg^t shall receive Twenty Dollars reward, or Fourteen for the Mare and six for the Horse.

G. O. HEAD QUARTERS UPPER DUBLIN Oct^r 22^d 77.

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	Green
Brigadier	Smallwood
Field Officers .	Col. Chambers L ^t Col. Thackston
Brigade Major	Peers
Field Officer for Piquet	Lt. Col. Ford

Such of the Troops as have not already drawn provision for to-day and tomorrow, are to do it immediately & cook the whole, and all be ready to march at the shortest notice.

D. O.

The 2^d and 10th Virginia, with the Pennsy^a State Regiments in Gen^l Weedon's Brigade to hold themselves in readiness to march at 6 o'clock this Evening. The 5th Virginia and the German Reg^s of Gen^l Muhlenburgs Brigade also be in readiness to march at the same time, without Blankets or any kind of incumbrance to be compleat with 40 Pounds of Ammunition.

D. A. O.

The whole Division is to be in readiness to move this Evening at 6 o'clock every Man is to be provided with 40 Rounds of Ammunition, A Gill of Rum and a Blanket.

(To be continued.)

LETTERS OF A FRENCH OFFICER, WRITTEN AT
EASTON, PENNA., IN 1777-1778.

[The following interesting letters never reached their destination. They were forwarded via Boston, and the vessel carrying the mail for France was captured by a British cruiser. They were recently found, partially mutilated, among the prize papers in the records of the High Court of Admiralty, London. The *Pennsylvania Magazine* is indebted for copies to J. Franklin Jameson, Director of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D. C., and for translations to Albert J. Edmunds, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

I am resting in my room this evening with real pleasure. I had so arranged my day, after my walk, I had to come home to write to you, and entertain myself with you. I have imagined that I had a visit to make you. I have fixed the hour, and in my ordinary course, I have found myself at home about three quarters of an hour earlier. If I could only be settled for once! But I am one place today and another tomorrow. Nevertheless I have been here fifteen days, and have not lost any time. I have found a man, quite old, who has traveled in all the countries of Europe, having served with the Empress of Russia, and acquired a good deal in his travels. He has the kindness to talk with me in a language which gives me infinite pleasure to study, though all who speak it around me displease me supremely—all of them: men, women, girls and children have an air of untidiness in spite of their apparel, so much so, that a Frenchman would have to be very perverted, and to have lost the good taste which characterizes our nation, to become strongly attached to one. Forgive me this digression.

I return to my gentleman. He has loaned me *The Spirit of Laws*, in English, and in spite of their jealousy of everything that is French and good, they have translated it into

their language. I am making extracts from it; all my mornings are employed on that. I am learning to speak, read and write English, in which I feel that I am making some progress by the ease wherewith I begin to enunciate and by the pleasure which I have in working at it. O my dear Mentor, I want to teach you this language; you would like it, it is really a beautiful language and agreeable to learn.

In the afternoon I take my walk until five or six o'clock, or sometimes I go and take tea with my landlord's son-in-law, who makes very good leather breeches, and in his leisure moments is a Colonel in the service. He is very agreeable; but, whatever evil I may have spoken about women, he has one at his house who is a little more so than he is, and very pretty too. I speak English with her a good deal; she is seventeen, the wife of an artillery captain,¹ the most capricious little woman you could see. But, as I am not at all in love; even friendship counts for nothing; as there is on my side, nothing but social politeness, and on hers a little curiosity. When she is in good humor she is gay, teaches me to speak, and we dispute upon the greater part of the usages which are nothing less than polite. That gives me a moment of distraction, after which I go back to my room and chat with you, or I speak, translate and write English.

EASTON, Oct. 23, 1777.

Search a little on the map, my dear friend, not of the Holy Land (tho' I am only ten miles from Bethlehem and six from Nazareth), for a place where the great river Delaware unites its two branches, at about 70 or 80 miles from Philadelphia, and you will know positively where your brother is, and tho' in the midst of mountains, and in a peninsula formed by these two rivers and another stream,

¹ He has just been killed at Fort Red Bank when the British took it. [The story that the British had taken it was of course a false Tory rumor.]

he does not forget that he has a brother by whom he is loved, and to whom he returns this sentiment with interest. You surely know about the death of poor Du Coudray. Whatever wrongs he may have done me in this country, I cannot help mourning for him.¹ His death has left us bewildered, though ever united, since we have united our powers in a single person who is charged with our affairs at the Congress, intending, however, to return to us as soon as possible after having been trifled with up to the point that we were during the life of our poor General. Not one of our serjeants even, to whom Captain's commissions are offered, wish to remain, they prefer to return as soldiers to France. The Congress, it seems to me, is anxious to drag out this business long enough so as not to allow us to return so soon to France, a body of officers and serjeants numerous enough for the unanimity of their manner of speaking and for Du Coudray's papers, which they possess, to be able to bring to light the unworthy fashion in which they [the Congress] have behaved to the face of officers whom their ambassador has drawn from their body upon the faith of treaties and the agreement of their sovereign.² The people here who are not led by the petty intrigues of the Congress and who see in us only a body united enough in appearance, discontented, testifying this discontent quite loudly, ready to go back to France and give a bad idea of the good faith of these folk who do not keep their treaties—these [good] people, [I say], are in despair, are loudly blaming the actions of the Congress, and are seeking to persuade us to stay. But no one wants to stay except M. Deloyant, to whom we testified that we should be quite glad when our interests were no longer his. He has had the offer of a Colonelcy, not in the army, but civilly, in one of the Colonies. I think he will accept

¹ "Sept. 16. About eleven o'clock, Gen. Coudray, with nine French officers, set out for camp over Schuylkill. The General being mounted in the boat, his horse became restive and jumped overboard with him, and the General was drowned." *Hiltzheimer's Diary*.

² The ambiguity here is in the original.

it. As to myself, I don't know yet what I shall do. I only hope that nobody will blame me when I have taken my step, because I shall not take it except upon mature reflection.

There is some great news in this country. On the 17th of this month, Burgoyne sent to General Gates to ask a six days' armistice, upon seeing himself surrounded by an army which he believed to be much more numerous than his own. Gates sent word to him that he would only grant him six minutes, and that if he did not surrender he would get no quarter. Gates' aide-de-camp carried the conditions under orders not to allow Burgoyne more than fifteen minutes. Burgoyne, not being able to decide, asked for two hours, which were granted to him. At the end of this time, the aide-de-camp wishing to withdraw, Burgoyne signed the capitulations, by which he is to march out with all the honors of war; at a place designated the troops are to lay down their arms, the artillery and all the munitions are to be delivered to the American general; all these troops are to be sent back to England as soon as possible; Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne, Major General Phillips and three brigadiers may have the liberty to return, and he [Burgoyne] must promise, in the name of all these troops, never to bear arms against the Americans without being exchanged. Such are the conditions upon which Burgoyne has surrendered: 5500 men have therefore marched past foaming with rage and cursing their General, to whom they have said that they would sooner be reduced to two ounces of biscuit a day than surrender; and they have turned over 6000 excellent firearms, forty pieces of cannon, and the best munitions which have yet been seen on this Continent.

Never will the Englishmen wipe out this shame; 5500 men of the best of troops surrendered at discretion to less than 10,000 militia; but the firmness of Gates, who perhaps did not expect this, has done it all. Burgoyne, General Phillips and the brigadiers, the nephew of the Duke of Grafton and other members of Parliament, are at Albany.

The soldiers are sent into New England, but it is said that they do not want to return to England, and that they are asking for lands or else deserting into the interior of the country. So this is the news from the North!

From the South, Philadelphia is taken, that is to say, has been abandoned; the English are entrenched there; but I fancy they are very ill at ease because they cannot capture the fort which is defended by the *chevaux-de-frise*.¹ They cannot get a single one of their vessels up, and days ago the Americans burnt two of their best war vessels, the *Augusta* and the *East Indies*, of 64 guns each. We heard the explosion of them here.² It broke the glass in all the windows for six miles around. The second lost all its crew. This, my dear friend, is the news. If General Howe does not take care, he may find himself made very uneasy, even in his camp at Germantown, by the Americans; and if one of their divisions which had gone astray in the woods, in spite of their good capacity, had not been two hours late, the English would have been repulsed as far as Philadelphia and perhaps farther. There was a very thick mist, and still these folks are so little warlike! But they are beginning to get used to fire. Without all these obstacles Howe would have been cut to pieces. He has beaten these folk in two spirited battles since he landed in Chesapeake Bay. Let him look out for a third battle! He buys them by dint of men, and it is not so easy for him to recruit his army as it is for these folk who have plenty of militia and resources. You see, then, that there is good news for these people: An army of prisoners and two war ships burnt.

¹ The forts are taken. The English have burned Germantown and are determined to pass the Winter in Philadelphia. General Washington is passing it under huts in a forest. It is said that his camp is original and yet quite well laid out.

² Oct. 24. "Heavy and uninterrupted cannonading was heard from early in the morning until noon, when after a thundering report and concussion it ceased." *Bethlehem Diary*.

You are going to ask me what I am doing at Easton. I will tell you. The Congress is at York, behind the great and famous river Susquehanna, which forms the head of Chesapeake Bay. We have there a good many of our men and the one who is commissioned to ask for our compensation, etc. When we get some news, some one will come and bring it here to me. I shall go and carry it to another man further off, and so on to Boston, which is our rallying place, except for those who have business in San Domingo, they will embark from the South. It is already twelve days since I returned from York, and I am confined here, the only Frenchman, with the three most decided characters of the place. There are in town four English officers, prisoners on parole. I have become acquainted with my hostess's son-in-law, am going to buy some leather breeches from him; the Colonel is a very agreeable young man and a great Whig.

He has with him a very pretty little wife from Boston, aged 18 years, with a very pretty figure, white as milk, her back quite round and moreover a charming throat, which is a rarity in this country. The first four days that I saw her, I was received by her wonderfully; my vanity was so much flattered by it, that at the end of those four days we were very familiar indeed. The women in this country attach very little importance to a thousand petty things which in France our women make us pass as the greatest favors, which we regard as so much more decisive from the fact that they rarely fail of being crowned with success. Here a woman will kiss you all day; will do a thousand foolish things with you—crush your foot, make your arm black and blue by dint of pinching you while walking with you, and will give you a couple of slaps; in short, she will give you in a single day the same provocations which one of our women could not do, without being thought too free, after a month's acquaintance. You are often no further advanced with them for all that. It all vanishes like a dream, and they are laughing at you; at least that is what

has happened to me. I only perceived afterwards that it was nothing but curiosity and that she wanted to see how the French go about it when making love. As you know very well, I did not go down on my knees at the first interview. I rested for two days without saying anything, and she came back as before. I take my part. I am neither amorous nor jealous. I take what presents itself on my way. She lets herself out when she is in a good humor, and when she isn't, I withdraw. I talk English like a demon, and that is what I want. Perhaps the Devil will serve me, but not love. It is a chimerical being in a country still somewhat wild.

I come from the ball, my dear friend. The great news made me forget the leather breeches at my friend the Colonel's. Yesterday he played for us on the violin and gave us some Madeira wine. Just as we were going to dance the savage dances,—for it is nothing else,—a great man arrived, like a great postmaster among ourselves, whom our young lady admires infinitely, because he sings like our grenadiers, makes wretched verses and gives them to her. The great joy has redoubled: the ball was composed of the young woman, the Colonel, his wife and me and the great devil of a lover. If I had been amorous and jealous, what a fine field! But happily I have made a vow never to love a woman of this country, and certainly it won't be hard to keep.

We danced a *till*: two men and the young woman. The word *till* in English means *jusque*. I believe that this country dance, which is a sad piece of stupidity, is so called because they dance *until* the dancers or the violin says that they can't stand any more of it. The polite usage of the country is to take the lady's handkerchief to wipe oneself and return it to her. I should have thought this was a favor, but I have been treated so well that I am disabused: the usage is convenient, tho' rather dirty. After that we danced a jig, which reminds one a good deal of our Perigord dances. As I was the only Frenchman, they always

prevented me from entering. At the third time I sat down and asked the lady if it was polite to turn the back when a man presented himself. They told me it was the custom and for a joke. I laughed then too, and presented myself once more, when I was received, but displaced at once. After that they wanted to dance a minuet, but the negro musician who was playing did not know it. So they had to let it pass. We returned to our dance of three, in which they never ceased to make the eights; we were obliged to keep to that and the jig. I forgot to mention that the great lover wore boots. Tired of dancing thus, he took them off and danced in his barefeet. As he had breeches of grey leather, the heat of which he complained a great deal, I was scared to death lest they might share the fate of the boots! Happily, however, we were spared that.

It must not in the least be imagined, my dear friend, that this country is at all sensible to English politeness, with the exception of some families that have been reared in Europe. All the rest feel rather like their neighbors the savages, and they have nothing in common with the English, except their language. Good-bye, dear friend. I have just had a glass with you. I had need of it. Though I am still fattening in this country, that does not prevent me from experiencing the cruelest moments of *ennui* and of a kind of despair. Happily the memory of you and of several friends and the study of English, on which I receive compliments every day, give me a little distraction. Good-bye for to-day.

There is, my friend, in this country, a kind of folk, pretty well educated, who are their doctors in medicine and theology, and their judges. I have become acquainted here with one of these last. He had been for a long time in the service of Russia. There is no country in Europe which he has not been through. He has seen much and quite well. His conversation is not disagreeable, and I profit [by it] for my English. I have been charmed to find in his library Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* translated into the best English.

I am very glad to see that this nation, jealous of all that bears the name of French, has done justice enough to a work which we so highly esteem. He told me that in England every body who was intellectual had this book, and that they made a great fuss over it. He lends it to me sometimes. It is in two volumes of a superb edition; but they have not the rest of this great man's works.

I am on the very best terms with the little wife, who has become for me a very good English teacher, and to whom I drew the other day so agreeable a picture of the pleasures of our women in France, and so different from all those which they have in this country, that the little wife, stirred by the truth and the pathos of my descriptive, and by certain little compliments wherewith I seasoned this picture, was about to forget that she was of New England, perhaps to imagine that she had become a Frenchwoman, when some wretched bore came along to make her head American, and remind her that she was so. At any rate, I am determined to pass the time with her as it comes. That gives me a good idea. I begin too to believe that one might succeed in giving some taste to these women, for they are flattered when you tell them that they have anything in common with ours; and then the seventeen years wherewith the little wife is afflicted make her believe that she would do very well to go and pass seventeen others in France, and so divide her time between America and France. She burns in her little shoes to be there. Oh! there is something good and excellent about her. Something can surely be made of her. She is polished, or will become so, although one of her great words of friendship, which she has in common with nearly all the women of this country is: "Impudent dog!" which, in the best French possible, can only be rendered by *Impudent chien*. You see that the sweetness of the words is capable of giving a great idea of that of the individuals who pronounce them. But I must conform to the usages of the country.

Everything here is abominably dear. You are going to

believe me assuredly a very great lord, when I tell you that for myself and a little horse, it costs me the equivalent of sixteen livres (francs), ten sous a day for breakfast, dinner and supper by course, with a cup of tea drowned in milk. See, my dear friend, whether the 3000 salary which had been promised us, and which is given us pretty much as they give us supper in the evening, can suffice us to live in this country. People are hoping, however, that this good news is going to raise the price of silver and bring groceries down; but certainly, so long as the inhabitants of the towns make the countryman pay two louis for shoes and as much for the ugliest of hats (six livres in France), four louis for boots, eight louis an ell for cloth (the ell of this country being only three-quarters of ours), the countryman will make you pay ten livres for his butter, seven a pair for his fowls, and sixty sous a pound for meat. Every time that you sit at table in an inn, it costs six livres. There is no bargaining. If that does not stop, this country is ruined by itself before the English can take it. What causes this excessive increase is the number of Tories which this nation allows to live in it, and who undermine it by fomenting a spirit of revolt; affecting to give bad news, hiding their goods and refusing to sell; the innkeepers refuse to lodge you, persuading the people that the current money, and nothing, are the same thing. If they don't take some pretty efficacious measures to restore credit and consistency to the paper, this country is lost. But that's enough of politics. Our affairs are by no means wound up. I have yet no news at all: our folk must be quite uneasy at Boston.

EASTON, November 1, 1777.

The work done by a tired man is worth very little. When [illegible] if he will know how to employ the time that will follow the end of that work, he can only give it a distracted attention, capable of making very little impression either on the memory or in the head. Now such is the

case in which I am; wandering around, unable to settle down to a work of too long duration; the uneasiness which the delays of this Congress cause me:

It seems to me that I should be happy if, in the midst of the Blue Mountains near which I am, I could have a habitation where, ignored by the universe, living alone, seeking to ignore myself, I could live afar from every human being and every care; but I am not even on the point of buying myself this habitation, and we consider ourselves very happy if we get back to France with a coat and a shirt on our backs. Such, nevertheless, is the situation of the Frenchmen whose lot, at the moment of their departure, makes all their comrades envious. Define for me events, chance, fortune. . . . Good-bye, I should not count upon any letter from France in this country, even when they escape the vigilance of the English cruisers. The Congress has decided to keep all the correspondence of all the officers, after what happened to poor Du Coudray, at least we presume so, for all the other Frenchmen have received theirs: we are the only ones who do not receive any; however, we do not lack any friends, acquaintances and relatives.

EASTON, November 13.

You would not have any doubt of the nature of my occupation for some days past. I am obliged to console my big German hostess for the loss of a son whom she loved, and who was really very useful to her. The genuine grief of this woman has infinitely touched me. I have felt myself obliged to employ all my rhetoric to console this poor woman. My arguments are short, for we hardly understand each other, but in default of words I make my actions speak: I stay with her, I try to distract her, and finally, yesterday evening I helped her to unwind a skein of thread: oh! what a skein! It took us up to midnight, and she made me understand that when this same thread was cut in three, she counted on making two pairs of breeches therewith. I

could have believed it to be eternal, and I saw the end of it with the same pleasure as Theseus saw the end of the one he had tied to the gate of the labyrinth. Nothing comes to an end.

I see every day of the winter pass by so quickly, in spite of the *ennui* which prostrates me, even as the West wind which I see constantly by an unfortunate weather-vane that shows me the way to France, that I cannot help traveling by my wishes. We have had frost here for about ten days, and I can even tell you that the ice of this country is as slippery as that of France, for I bruised myself [illegible word here] the other day by falling on it. You see that the winter is beginning early.

I leave to-day for York, in spite of the cold that prevails; but I do not want to wait longer to get to Boston, where all my comrades are, expecting that those who are at the Congress at York, are bearing them a reply from that Congress that does nothing. Yesterday I settled my account with my big German woman, merely for board and lodging for a month, all but a day, that I have been here, 78 dollars, which in our money comes to 109 livres, 10 sous, which in my opinion is exorbitant for a man who has nothing in this country—even when we received our 3000 livres salary, considering that for us the expense of living for merely a year amounts to nearly 3000 livres. Add to that the expense of a horse, which we are obliged to have on account of the frequent journeys that they make us take, and I am persuaded that calculating our expenses at the end of the year, we shall find that we have spent 14,000 or 15,000 livres which the Congress of course will have paid! That makes a great many pieces of paper and very little silver. I can easily give you a proof: if I stayed here and the Congress offered me 12,000 livres in paper, I neither would nor could accept, but if it offered me 1200 in silver, I should live here like a lord. Good-bye, to the yellow room! If I had to mend the fire every time it went down! You will understand!

January 2, 1778.

This time, my dear friend, you must content yourself with my rough notes. I will tell you in a few words that I have left Easton, been to York, found our affairs wound up, and I refer you for the sequel to the great packet which our men are taking to France. As to me, dear friend, I am not quite happy that 2067 livres damages were sufficient to pay my debts. You are perhaps going to be astonished, but I am trying to make the best of this money in commerce, and to begin my fortune I have put aside the prejudices of my uniform: I speculate, and speculate well. If M. Clouet and M. de Devatre, from whom I ask a trifle, wish to send it to me, were both [trifles] only 100 louis or 2000 livres, I could, without much exertion, have nearly 80,000 livres at the end of the year. You see, my friend, that that is worth the trouble. During this time I am making the best of my friends here, and I shall wait patiently.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF SURGEON EBENEZER ELMER OF THE NEW JERSEY CONTINENTAL LINE, SEPTEMBER 11-19, 1777.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN NIXON BROOKS.

DR. EBENEZER ELMER, born in Cedarville, Cumberland County, New Jersey, was a grandson of Rev. Daniel Elmer, who came from Connecticut in 1727. After finishing his academical education, he was prepared for the practice of medicine by his eldest brother, Dr. Jonathan Elmer. When about to establish himself in his native town, the war for independence broke out, and he determined to enter the military service. On February 18, 1776, he was commissioned an Ensign in the Third New Jersey Infantry, Col. Elias Dayton, and in April following promoted a Lieutenant, participated in the Expedition to Canada, and served until the expiration of the term for which the troops were enlisted. In April of 1777, he was appointed Surgeon's Mate, and on July 1, 1778, Surgeon of the Second New Jersey Infantry and served to the close of the war, when he returned to his home and practiced his profession. Dr. Elmer participated in the battles on the Brandywine and Monmouth, served in Sullivan's expedition against the Indians, and was present at the capture of Yorktown. Extracts from his military journals,—the Canada Expedition and Sullivan's Expedition,—have been published by the New Jersey Historical Society.

From 1789-1795, Dr. Elmer served as a member of the Assembly and in 1791 and 1795 as its Speaker. About this time he gave up his practice as a physician and moved upon a farm in the vicinity of Bridgeton. In 1801, he was elected a member of Congress and served six years, as a supporter of Jefferson's administration. In 1808 he was appointed Collector of Customs at Bridgeton (to which town he removed), and held it with the exception of five

years until 1832, when he resigned. He was vice-president of the State Council 1807–1815; vice-president of Burlington College, 1808–1817, and again 1822–1832. His military life and fondness for military pursuits led to his appointment of Adjutant General of the State Militia, and for many years he commanded the Cumberland County Brigade—during the last war with England commanding the troops stationed at Billingsport. He closed a long life of activity and usefulness October 21, 1843, aged 91 years, and is buried in the cemetery of the Presbyterian church at Bridgeton. At the time of his death, he was President of the New Jersey Society of the Cincinnati, and the last surviving officer of the New Jersey Line of the Revolutionary army.

Thursday Sept. 11th 1777. Having Previously Posted ourselves on the Banks of the Brandywine River on each side Chads ford about 7 ° Clock this morning Intelligence Came that the Enemy were advancing on towards us soon after which the alarms Guns were fired. About 8 the advanced Guards Consisting Chiefly of Hessians Hove in sight on the Eminences on the Other side when Gen^l. Maxwell with his light troops advanced on towards them & began a pretty brisk fire in which tis said he killed 250. These being repulsed a Column came on to their assistance & began a sharp Canonading & our troops retreated back & soon after Came over at this time 3 batteries — ours opened on the enemy & a very severe Canonading at Random was kept up on both side for some time & then abated a little the most of the Enemy disappearing. The Gen^l. supposing he might attempt to Cross at a ford $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles above dispatched Gen^l. Sullivens Division thither. It now from one to 3 remained pretty quiet except now & then a few random balls. At length the Gen^l. got information that a body were gone up to Cross Jone's ford 6 miles above Chad's's but the reports were so Contradictory that it was difficult to make a proper disposition; however Sterling & Stevens Divisions were sent to join Sullivan on the right we marched on some

distance till we Came in Sight of the Enemy who had Crossed the river & were coming down upon us; we formed ab^t. 4 °Clock on an Eminence, the right being in y^e woods, presently a large Column Came on in front playing y^e Granediers March & Now the Battle began w^h proved Excessive severe the Enemy Came on with fury our men stood firing upon them most amazingly, killing almost all before them for near an hour till they got within 6 rod of each other, when a Column of the Enemy came upon our right flank w^h Caused y^m to give way w^h soon extended all along y^e line; we retreated & formed on y^e first ground and gave y^m another fire & so continued on all y^e way, but unfortunately for want of a proper Retreat 3 or 4 of our pieces were left on y^e first ground. Whilst we were engaged on the right another body of the Enemy Came over Chad's ford & attacked Gen^l Waynes Division & Gen^l Maxwells troops, Proctors Battery Were playing upon them, here our people likewise gave y^y but contended obstinately, at length they got possession of 3 or 4 pieces of our Cannon & then our Troops retired bringing off y^e rest. Gen^l. Greens Divisions being a reserve were sent & part of Nash's Brigade were sent to their assistance on y^e right but it was almost night before they came up, they gave the Enemy some smart fire & it Coming on night they retired also. We all made for Chester & were ordered to assemble there. Cap^t. Stout Serg^t. Armstrong & 2 Privates of our Regt. were killed on y^e Ground, Col^o. Shreve & 7 wounded; only 1 mortal;—Morgan, LaFayette & Gen^l. Woodford—. I being excessive tired stopped at — ab^t. 12 °Clock just without y^e town having sent on a waggon load of wounded.

Die Veneris 12th. Our men tho' fatigued were ordered on over Schuylkill. I went in pursuit of y^e waggon of wounded in w^h I had thrown my Napsack & Coat, found they had left the wounded & drove on, so I was obliged to follow y^e Reg^t. without my Coat. We travelled on over Schuylkill & they went up to y^e falls, I into town & Staid all night—*Cloudy & Cool—*

Die Saturni 13^{mo} Sept^r. 77. Went to See Col^o. Shreve at the old Ferry & after dinner to y^e Regiment. Cloudy—Cool Day.

In orders the Gen^l. thanked those officers and Soldiers who had gallantly fought in their Countrys Cause, & if Any of their Conduct bespoke a different treatment & their names were not pointed out to him he left them to seriously consider how much they had Injured their Country & tho' that day was something unfortunate yet from every Information it appeared the enemies loss was vastly superior to ours & He doubted not with the blessing of heaven w^h it was every officers & Soldiers duty humbly to supplicate we should shortly be able to totally defeat them. The Congress had ordered 30 Hogsheads of Rum to the Army to be distributed at y^e will of y^e Commander in Chief. He ordered the Commissary Gen^l. of Issues to deliver every officer & soldier a gill p^r Day till the whole is Issued.

No soldier to be out of hearing of the Drums of their respective Parades under pain of death; nor officer as they value y^e service or dread Cashiering.

By what I can learn our loss does not exceed 600 killed & missing perhaps 20 wounded & that the Enemies loss is 2000 killed & wounded—

Die Solis 14 Sept^r. 1777. By Request of Col^o. Shreve I went to Philad^a. to attend him, we went on board a shallops & set sail for Bordentown; It being very Calm we got ab^t. 15 miles & were obliged to drop Anchor & wait the Tide. In Evening we weyed anchor & rowed up near Bordentown & staid.

Die Lunee 15th Sept^r, 1777. Weighed Anchor & stood up to White Hill a mile below Bordentown, Came up to the wharf & got y^e Col^o. up to the widow Fieldings living on y^e banks. She rec^d. it kindly. We dined & drank wine with her till near night when she had her carriage tackled & a Negro sent to drive us. At parting she requested I would Come & See her again before I went to Camp, w^h I promised if possible, we drove on to Thomas Curtisses Brother-

in-Law to y^e Col^o. & staid all night, 6 miles from Borden-town.

Die Martis 16th Sept^r 1777. Staid here all Day w^h was Cloudy & Some rain. Mr. Bowman Came here from Camp this evening. The Army had moved over Schuylkill some Distance up ye Lancaster Road & were going on when he left them.

Die Mercurii 17th Sept^r 1777. Cloudy N. E. weather—staid in House all day—wrote a letter to Jona^a Bowen & Dr. Howel & Dav^d. Dare, & sent them by Mr. Bowman.

Die Jovis 18th. Sept^r. 1777. Went to Trentown to get some dressings for y^e Col^o. thigh I returned.

Die Venevis 19th Sept^r. 1777. Clear pleasant Day.

THREE INTERESTING LETTERS.

THE following interesting letters of General George Washington to General "Light Horse" Harry Lee; from Tobias Lear, private secretary, and from John Greenwood, dentist to Washington, have recently been presented by William Alexander Smith, Esq., New York, to the Manuscript Department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

BALTIMORE April 17th 1789.

MY DEAR SIR,

I called at Mr. Moncreiff's with the enclosed bill, and was informed that he went over to the Eastern Shore sometime last week, and was not expected home for several days. I could find no person who transacted his business in his absence from whom I might have gained some information respecting the payment of the bill. I have therefore left it that you may do with it as you think best. Perhaps it might be well to leave it in the hands of some Gentleman here who will receive payment of it when Mr. Moncreiff returns, and remit the money to New York.

Mr. Curson informed me that he had shipped the seeds on board a vessel bound to Alexandria, which had sailed yesterday morning, and that he had charged the Captain to land them at Mount Vernon on his way up the River.

With my best wishes for a pleasant journey, and in expectation of the happiness of seeing you shortly,

I am, my dear Sir,

Very respectfully & Sincerely

Your affectionate & Obed. Serv^t

TOBIAS LEAR.

HIS EXCELLENCY

GENERAL WASHINGTON.

MOUNT VERNON 2^d Apr^l 1797.

DEAR SIR,

If this letter should happen to find you in Philadelphia, the intention of it is to bring you acquainted with the situ-

ation of Mess. Reed & Ford's engagement to transfer (after the 28th of March) seventy shares in the Bank of Columbia on your account for my benefit.

On my way home, I placed their obligation in the hands of a Gentleman within the District of Columbia, for the purpose of having this transfer made.

The following extract of his letter to me was received on Friday last, but not in time to forward it by the Post of next morning, although I instantly wrote & took the chance of a letter getting to Mess. Reed and Ford by the Mail of that day; & now enclose a duplicate, open for your perusal before it is delivered.

"Enclosed is Reed & Ford's obligation w^{ch} you left with me, but on application to one of the Officers in the Bank to transfer to you the shares in question, he informed me it could not be done without a power of attorney from them to some person in this town to make the transfer. It is suspected by some persons here, they have failed, and today I was told by a Director they had no Shares in the Bank of Columbia. Perhaps you may think it advisable to write on immediately that you may secure yourself in this business."

This business, my good Sir, you will recollect well, was not of my seeking; that it was not agreeable to me to be paid in that way (because it was the money I wanted) and that it was to accomodate you, under strong assurances that the obligation of Reed & Ford was as good as the Bank, &c, that I yielded to the measure. How far the assertion was well founded, may while you are on the spot be worthy of enquiry; as my confidence in, and disposition to oblige you has envolved this result.

I would fain hope that that part of the extract which relates to the *failure*, is without foundation; and for the honor of honest men, & fair dealing, I also hope it will not be found that they have been selling property to which they had no right & and of w^{ch} they were not possessed. At any rate I shall lose what I ought not, & what I should not, if the

money had been properly paid for from my unacquainted in these matters and from the motives mentioned before, I have collected forty dollars a share when at the time, and now, the money (if I had been disposed to apply it so) would have procured these shares at thirty three dollars each by which means in twenty eight hundred dollars I sustain a loss of 490 besides loosing the interest on the former sum from the 24th of February until the transfer is made.

I am Dear Sir

Your Very H^{ble} Serv^t

G^o WASHINGTON.

GEN^L LEE.

NEW YORK Decem 6^r 28 1798

SIR,

I send you inclosed two setts of teeth, one fixed on the Old Barrs in part and the sett you sent me from philadelphia which when I Received was very black Ocationed either by your soaking them in port wine, or by your drinking it. Port wine being sower, takes of all the polish, and All Acids, has a tendency to soften every kind of teeth and bone. Acid is Used in Contriving every kind of [torn] therefore it is very pernicious to the teeth. Advice you to Either take them out, After Dinner and put them in cleain water and put in another sett, or Cleain them with a brush and som Chalk scraped fine, it will Absorbe the Acid which Collects from the mouth and preserve them longer. I have found another and better way of using the Sealing wax, when holes is eaten in the teeth by acid &c—

first Observe and dry the teeth, then take a peice of Wax and Cut into as small peices as you think will fill up the hole, then take a large nail or any other peice of Iron and heat it hot into the fier, then put your peice of wax into the hole, and melt it by meanes of introducing the point of the Nail to it. I have tried it and found it to Consolodate and do better than the other way and if done proper it will resist the Saliva, it will be handyer for you to take hold of the Nail with small plyers than with a tongs thus [drawing]

—the wax must be very small not bigger than this ☐ if your teeth Grows black, take some chalk and a Pine or Cedar Stick, it will rub it of. If you want your teeth more yellower soake them in Broath or Pot liquer, but not in tea or Acid. Porter is a Good thing to Coulor them and will not hurt but preserve them but it must not be in the least pricked.

You will find I have Altered the upper teeth you sent me from philadelphia—leaving the enamel on the teeth don't preserve them any longer than if it was of, it only holds the Color better, but to preserve them they must be very often Changed and Cleained for whatever atacks them must be repelled as often or it will gain Ground and destroy the works—the two setts I repaired is done on a different plan then when they are done when made intirely new, for the teeth are Screwed on the barrs, insted of haveing the barrs Cast red hot on them, which is the reason I believe the destroy or desolve so soone near the barrs.

Sr

After hopeing you will not be Obliged to be troubled very sune in the same Way

I Subscribe myselvth
Your very humble
Servant

JOHN GREENWOOD.

Sr—the aditional Charge is
fiveteen dollars.

P. S. I expect next Spring to move my family into Connecticut State: If I do, I will rite and let you know, and wether I give up my present business or not, I will as long as I live, do any thing in this way for you If you require it.

LIEUT GENERAL
GEORGE WASHINGTON
Mount Vernon
near Alexandria
Virginia.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

A DESCRIPTION OF BOSTON, 1776.—Original in Manuscript Division Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

BOSTON 10th May 1776.

DR SIR,

Your obliging favor of the 27th ultimo came duly to hand, and thank you for your kind Congratulations on my safe return to my old Quarters, but how long I shall be permitted to tarry here I know not, for according to our latest Advices there are a large Fleet and Army coming out to join that which went from hence, and may probably be destined this way ;—we are now making Preparations to receive them, and the Citizens of Boston have signed a voluntary Subscription to work either in Person or by Proxy, under the Direction of the Committee of the Gen^l Assembly of this Colony, in fortifying our Harbour,

We have been for Ten Days past on Noddle's Island, erecting a Fort which is now almost finished, which will command the Harbour of Boston. There is a Fort almost finished, on a Height in this City, known by the name of Fort Hill, which will be strong and beautiful, and will mount 20 Guns, and is almost compleated. On Dorchester Point is another Fortress which will soon be finished. There are also a number of hands employed in repairing the old, and erecting New Works at Castle-William. When all our Fortifications are compleated, well manned and mounted, I think we shall make a good Defence against any Force Great Britain may send. I am Clerk to the voluntary Subscribers, so that I have as much Business as I can do, in keeping the Books, providing Boats for transporting the Men to and from the Islands, &c. and feel more happy, in doing something for the Public, than ever I did in receiving a large Consignment of Goods for Sale. I have the same Opinion of those abandoned and diabolical Sons of Violence, which late took flight from hence that you have, and join with you most devoutly in praying they may never find rest for the Soles of their Feet either in this City or in any other on this Continent. I am much obliged for your kind Intimations to my very worthy Friends The Honorable John Hancock, Samuel and John Adams, Esquires, and in my Name I must beg you to return each and every of them my sincere and hearty Thanks for their kind Intentions to serve me, and I am encouraged to hope by their kind Recommendations to get some share of the Public Business in the way of my Profession.

I was offer'd by M^r Mifflin the Quarter Master General, the Sales of all the Kings Stores found in the City after it was evacuated, but being taken Sick in the Country was prevented from receiving any Advantage thereby. Col. Hancock's being on the Marine Committee, has it entirely in his Power to serve me, and if thro' the multiplicity of Business he does not forget it, I am confident he will, for two Reasons, one is, from his own benevolent disposition to serve mankind in general, and

the other from the Experience I have had of his past Friendship. The minister¹ Troops before they left this Town made dreadful Havock by taking down a large number of Houses in almost every part of it—a very many others might as well have been, for they are so much damaged, as to be hardly worth repairing—and the amazing number of Dwelling-Houses, Stores and Shops which have been plundered, despoiled, and wantonly abused surpasses Description. The ancient meeting called Old North is level with the ground, while the Old South, which you know was an elegant Building, is a mere Shell, having been taken up as a Receptacle for Brutes, by those who were more brutal—one Meeting-House at the South, and another at the West part of the Town were taken up for Barracks, and were both left in such a scandalous manner, that you would have thought they had been occupied by a Regiment of Barbarians. Dr Cooper's fine New Meeting House was also taken up by these Sons of Violence for the like purpose, and altho' left in much better order than the other two, yet was not half so clean as a Hog-Pen—Faneuil-Hall was taken up for a Play-House, In a word, wherever you turn your Eye from one end of the City to the other, the traces of their Cruelty and inhuman Barbarity are to be seen—But—Vengeance!—Vengeance!—Vengeance!—cry aloud, and spare not!—!—! here I must pauze a little, for fear I should go over the Line of common Humanity—a Day of Reckoning may be near at hand—By the latest Advices from Halifax if our Information is good, both the Troops and Tories who fled from this Place, are now by the Permission of Heaven in the Furnace of Affliction, and are so distressed for want of Provisions and the common necessarys of Life that the Soldiery are reduced to one half their usual Allowance. What a grand Place this, Friend Collins for a Retreat, !—!—! Well, they are coming again, with an addition of—Hessians—Hanoverians—Brunswickers—Devils—and I have no more doubt in my own mind, than I have of my own Existence, that we shall beat them, if they come three times as strong as their number are said to be—let me see, 3 times 17 is 51—yes, if 51,000 instead of 17,000, ay, and British Troops too, coming in so unrighteous a cause, against a numerous, virtuous and brave People, who are determined to be free, as the Americans are, they cannot even hope for Success—it is now 7 o'Clock in y^e morning, I am going off with my Son to carry a Wheelbarrow on Noddle's Island with my worthy fellow-citizens, and feel as happy as a Prince in doing it.

Yours for the present

J. R.

May 11. 1776.—5 o'clock, as pleasant a morning as I ever see. Yesterday there were 700 men on Noddle's Island at work 225 from this Town, among whom were some of the most respectable Inhabitants, but please to remember I do not include myself in the number, for I was not there, being prevented by providing a sufficiency of Boats for transporting so great a number of men from Roxbury, Newton, Waltham, Watertown, &c. as came to go on the Works, among the Gentlemen from the Country were five clergymen, This Day Platforms are to be laid, and hope by Tomorrow we shall have a number of Cannon mounted on these New Works. The men of War which are building in this neighbourhood will soon be finished, one at Providence is to be launched this week, and the other next week—one I hear at Portsmouth will be launched in a few days; and those at Newbury are in great forwardness,

when all the Ships which were ordered to be built, are fitted for Sea, with the Privateers already fitted out, joined with the Men of War, Cutters, Tenders, &c. which we shall take the ensuing Summer from the Enemy, our Navy will make a very respectable figure. I am anxious to hear the fate of the King's Ship which went on Shore in y^e River, as I hear your Row Gallies are gone to her Assistance,—the loss of one Ship to them makes two difference to us. Our Assembly has, not long since, passed an Act which impowers the Sheriffs to make Sale of all such Prizes as shall be taken from the Enemy, excepting such as shall be taken by the Continental Privateers, and this Business is transacted by Agents appointed by the Honorable the Continental Congress, to one of whom I applied for the Sale of a Cargo, who chose rather to employ some person in his own Town—so that, as the Sheriffs of the several Counties have on the one hand, and the Agents for the Continental on the other divided this Business between them, I can have no share, unless some Plan could be devised for an Alteration, and I really think it looks rather out of Character for a Sheriff whose Post is so honorable and Profitable, should be an auctioneer also. Your Son Glover is gone to Salem, from thence he will set out to Philadelphia in a few days. I shall attend to your orders respecting the Linnens, and any others which you may hereafter give. I am D^r Sir

Y^r most obliged hum Serv^t

JOS. RUSSELL.

NOTES OF COURT MARTIAL, SUB-LEGION OF UNITED STATES.

HEAD QUARTERS GREENEVILLE 16 Nov. '95.

Parole Edgarton

C Sign Truro

At the General Court martial whereof Major Shaylor is President, begun on the 6th & continued by adjournment, until the 12th Instant Inclusive. Ensign *Meriwether Lewis* of the 4th Sub Legion was tried on the following Charges exhibited against him by Lieutenant Elliot Viz^t.

1st Charge, a direct, open, and contemptuous Violation of the 1st and 2^d Articles of the 7th section of the Rules and Articles of War.

Specification 1st In presuming on or about the 24th of September last, to use provoking speeches and gestures, to Lieutenant Elliot, in his own house.

Specification 2^d In presuming on the same day to send Lieutenant Elliot a challenge to fight a duel.

2^d Charge, Conduct unbecoming an Officer and a Gentleman, to Lieutenant Elliot, on the 24th of September.

Specification. In abruptly and in an ungentlemanlike manner, when intoxicated, entering his (Lieut. Elliot's) House, on the 24th of September last, and without provocation insulting him, and disturbing the peace and harmony of Company of Officers whom he had invited there.

Which being stated to him he pleads that he is not guilty thereof.

The Court in consideration on the Testimony adduced are of opinion that Ensign Lewis is not guilty of the charges, exhibited against him, and sentence that he be *Accquitted with Honor*. The Commander in Chief confirms the foregoing sentence of the General Court martial, and fondly hopes as this is the first that it may also be the last instance in the Legion, of convening a Court for a trial of this nature. Ensign Meri-

wether Lewis, is liberated from his arrest. Lieut. Gragiers is also liberated and to return to his duty.

The General Court martial whereof Major Shaylor is president, are to convene tomorrow morning at 10 o'Clock, for the trial of Ensign Harris of the 1st Sub Legion he having announced his preparation to meet the charges exhibited against him.

JOHN DICKINSON, who while building his house in Wilmington, Delaware, about 1798, made the following notes for his contractors. [From the *Logan Papers*.]

Memorandums for their Direction when they go to Philadelphia—

To examine carefully the Doors, Windows, Chimnies, Mantles, Staircases &c. &c. in these Houses—William Bingham's—Henry Hill's—George Clymer's—Thomas Fitzimon's—Budden's in Chestnut Street between 8th & 9th Streets House in Front Street on the westside, on Taylor's Lot, a little below Chestnut Street—

To examine carefully Dr. Franklin's Bath, in Market Street, and the public Baths in Sassafras or Arch Street.

To get two Doric and two Ionic pillars made by a famous Turner, who lives on the Northside of Union Street, between 2^d & 3^d Streets—Each pillar including its Base and Captial, to be 9 feet high—the Diameter at the Bottom of the shaft to be 12 Inches—the Diminution to begin from the Bottom of the shaft—the shaft must be bored, to prevent splitting—

The Bases and Capitals in the best Manner of Mahogany, to guard effectually against the Heat of the Sun—the Plinths must be mitred.

To get a plan of a dumb-waiter—probably one may be seen that was made for Thomas Jefferson in one of Liepers new Houses in Market Street between 8th & 9th Streets—and at Henry Hills—to examine the kitchen.

LETTER OF GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON TO GENERAL EDWARD HAND, 1783.—

PHILAD^a Oct' 2, 1783.

DEAR GENERAL.

Permit me to express my heart felt satisfaction at the detail of your truly happy situation in Lancaster in the full enjoyment of a blissful retirement. A retreat from active life is only adapted for the few, they must possess sufficient knowledge of the World to see its follies and resolution to resist its vanities. He who acts thus will bear within him a tranquil mind. Ambition can not enjoy the calm repose of a Country Life. You who have converted the sword into a plough share will learn by experience that happiness dwells in domestic scenes, with a friendly intercourse of the living and the dead—by the dead I mean more benefit is to be derived from a few well selected books than from a large public library.

Useful Knowledge can have no Enemy but the ignorant—it pleases the young, it delights the aged, is an ornament in prosperity and a comfort in adversity. It is not probable that a Man will be asked at the day of Judgment his proficiency in Logic or Metaphysics. He who knows what is necessary to his salvation, knows sufficient.

I have trespassed upon your time and conclude.

affect^{ly} yours.

G. WASHINGTON.

SPELLING A LÂ ROOSEVELT. On Dec. 7, 1758, Isaac Norris writes to Henry Dennis to ask if he has "any Pine Plank fit for a Barn Floor," and receives the following reply :—

Fr'd Norris my poyn is Sappy except what i am going to yoose But can furnish thee with oak Eighther 2 inch at 22/6 pr #C or 1½ inch at 16/6 pr #C Both seasoned

HENRY DENNIS

7 of 12 : 1758,

(Endorsed) HENRY DENNIS

Pine Plank for Sepviva Barn floor.

A STAMP ACT INCIDENT.—Among the *Logan Papers* of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in a list of Writs and Fees, belonging to John Dickinson, is found the following note in Dickinson's own hand :—
"April 29th 1766 ; Lawyers agreed to begin Business which had stopt since the 1st of November last on account of the Stamp Act."

J. C. W.

STATE OF TRADE IN ENGLAND IN SPRING OF 1778.—

The following extracts of letters from Messrs. Cougan and Mallard, (the former a member of Parliament for Bristol, England ; a ministerial gentleman) to Mr. John Perry, merchant in New York, "were found on board the ship *Love and Unity*, from Bristol, and sometime since brought into Tom's River," and copied from the *New Jersey Gazette* of September 2, 1778, are contributed by Francis B. Lee, Esq., Trenton, N. J.

BRISTOL, *March* 2d, 1778.

"We are already so involved by the unfortunate American war, that in every future plan of business, we must see our way quite clear ; as prudent and honest men, we are called upon to be cautious and vigilant.

"Many people now in England fear for the city of New York, that the Americans will re-possess it (if not already) in the course of next campaign.—Such an event must have the most ruinous consequences. In short, we have tried to do a little business, and we have sent one or two cargoes to America, principally as speculations on our own accounts. We did not then see things in that serious light they now appear to us ; and we are therefore sorry we have engaged at all, and resolved to lie quiet, till the storm blows over—or we know the worst of it."

BRISTOL, *March* 2d, 1778.

"Insurance to America has not been lowered since we did the Albion's, but is rather higher.—Several unarmed vessels gone and going to different parts of America pay from fifteen to eighteen guineas per cent. and have notwithstanding a freight given them of four pounds sterling per ton."

BRISTOL, *March* 31st, 1778.

"Times are very bad here at present, and confidences quite gone, owing to some failures.—Sir James Laroche and Mr. Thomas Frank both for considerable sums, and their affairs like to turn out bad as to dividends. The public situation of national concerns have also an

effect on general credit.—Every merchant is talk'd of.—You will use every effort to hasten your remittances for obvious reasons.

“The declaration of war has not yet taken place. Deep politicians say, England wants to force France to declare first. An embargo is laid on both sides, and men pressed for the navy from all protections. War seems unavoidable, and yet no period can be fixed for its regular commencement.—Spain will join France when we begin—there is no doubt.

“This information will hasten you to close the sales of all our effects in your hands, with all convenient and necessary speed, for fear of any turn in affairs at New York or Philadelphia, that may render those cities insecure, by giving them new masters once more.

“Remit all you can, and as soon as you can, is our advice.”

BRISTOL, *April 21st*, 1778.

“We embrace this opportunity of telling you that war is not yet declared; the preparations, however, go on with vigor, and the militia are called out for the defence of this kingdom. This delay of a public declaration of war causes men to be of two opinions concerning the event itself. We cannot, however, help thinking a war will take place at last, altho' it may be delayed some months, in order that certain places may be put in a good state of defence.”

BRISTOL, *May 5th*, 1778.

“We shall have very large sums to pay in September, October, November and December for the Albion and Neptune's goods; and unless you so manage matters as to remit us to answer those demands, we must be at a stand. Credit and confidence are quite gone, and the Bank of England is so situated as to afford little or no aid to merchants, even of the first consequence in London; so that private bankers are driven to extremities almost, and merchants know not which way to turn for money.”

LETTER OF REV. H. M. MÜHLENBERG, 1774. (Translated.)

BELOVED COUSIN ISRAEL,

Although it is a long time since I have not been so happy to receive a few lines from you, and although I do not know, whether my letter will be agreeable to you or not, I will not let escape the good opportunity with Captain Bunner and ask you, how you get along? Concerning our circumstances, I as well as my wife, we are getting gradually weaker and more infirm. We have hired a house in Race street between Second and Front street, in order to live more retired and to dispense with many visits. My son in law, Rev. Mr. Kuntze lives now in the parsonage, and my son Henry, who has been elected third minister, lives near him, in the house where Rev. Mr. Kuntze used formerly to live. My son Frederic is minister of the German church and congregation in New-York, and my son Peter is still country-preacher in Virginia. His wife, Hannah, came to see us in Philadelphia during the last month of May, and he thinks also of visiting us on the end of this month of July, if life be spared. The Indians are here also rebellious and begin war with the inhabitants of Virginia and on the frontiers of Pennsylvania. Your grand-mother Mrs. W—— is still alive in Reading and sends her

love to you. Your step-father and mother are still in the old path or ruin. You will know already that Squire Benjamin has married the daughter of the brother of your step-father, and the step-sister young Brosius; Mr Anthony is very angry about it. My wife spent lately a month at Rev. Mr Schultz's in Tolpehocken, believing it would benefit her, but it did not. She says your legacy of your late grand-father was still safe. Mr Zachar: Enders inquired often after you and sends his respects. Give my esteem and respect to Esqr Freutlin and his esteemed family and if you wish to write us, dear cousin, do it circumstantially and tell us how you get along with respect to soul and body. But it is necessary to write in advance and at leisure hours and one must not wait until the Captain or the opportunity is at hand and requires the letter before it had been written, otherwise the product is nothing but a French compliment, having for conclusion: "written in hurry." We all send our love to you and I am your wellwishing friend.

H MÜHLENBERG

PHILADELPHIA, Sunday evening
the third of July 1774.

ADVERTISEMENTS APPEARING IN THE LOCAL COLUMN OF THE
"PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE" OF FEBRUARY, 1760:—

ALL persons indebted to the Estate of of Michael Diehl, late of the Northern Liberties of the City of Philadelphia Cooper, deceased, are desired to make speedy payment; and those who have any Demands against the said Estate are likewise desired to bring in their respective Accounts, that they may be adjusted, by MAGDALEN DIEHL, CASPAR VETTER, Adminiftrators.

Philadelphia, February 7, 1760.

TO be fold by public vendue, under the Court House, on Saturday, the 16th instant, at two o'clock in the afternoon, a parcel of Fall fhort hair, and Summer deer skins; also beaver, and other furs, belonging to the province.

By order of the commiffioners for Indian affairs,
J. F. DAVENPORT, Clerk.

This is to give *N O T I C E*,

THAT JOHN BEALS, net maker, from London, make all sorts of nets, and feins, casting-nets, flews, tramels, stopor setting nets, nets to keep the flies from the houses in the summer, nets for officers to lie upon in their tents, billiard table pockets, partridge nets, pigeon nets, hoop nets, fowling bags, and all other sorts of nets, too tedious to mention, at the sign of the nets, in Fourth street, between Market and Chestnut-streets, Philadelphia.

To be fold by

T H O M A S S A Y,

Living in Second street, a little above Arch street.

THE last Edition of Lewis Evans's GENERAL MAP of the MIDDLE BRITISH COLONIES in AMERICA, and of the Country of the Confederate Indians; a Description of the Face of the Country, the Boundaries of the Confederates; and the Maritime and In-land Navigations of the several Rivers and Lakes contained therein.

CAME to the plantation of the subscriber, about the middle of May last, a black heifer, about three years old, with white in her Face, no ear-mark. The owner coming and proving his property and paying charges, may have her again, by applying to John Boggs, living in Wilitown, Chester county.

DR O P T on the Road between this and Merion Meeting-house, or between Merion and Chester, by the Way of Springfield Meeting-house, A Red Leather Pocket Book, containing some Papers, of no Use to any but the Owner. Whoever will return it, and the Contents, to Me, Aubrey Bevan, Tavern keeper, at Chester, or to the New-Printing Office, in Philadelphia, shall receive a Private reward.

To be S O L D,

A Plantation in Lower Merion, in Philadelphia County, about 12 Miles from Philadelphia, near John Roberts's and John Morris's Mills, containing 93 Acres of Land, about 60 Acres cleared; an old House and Barn, and an old Orchard, and about six Acres of Meadow, Part made: For Terms of Sale, enquire of ALEXANDER CRUIKSHANK.

N. B. Came to the Plantation of said Alexander Cruikshank, near Harford Road, in Merion, a small white Horse, branded on the off Buttock with R. The owner coming and paying the Charge, may have him again.

WHEREAS Margaret Brown, the Wife of Stephen Brown, of East Caln, Chester County, eloped some Time ago from her said Husband, this is therefore to forewarn the Publick not to trust her on my Account, for I will not pay any Debts of her contracting from the Day of the Date hereof.

1st Month 30, 1760.

STEPHEN BROWN.

To be L E T T,

A Good Dwelling house, and Plantation, containing about 116 Acres, 30 whereof are Meadow, situate in the Northern Liberties, two Miles and an Half from Philadelphia, near the Road to Frankfort, all within good Cedar Fence with all proper Outhouses thereon erected. For Terms of Demise, enquire of JOHN MOLAND, on the Premises.

Philadelphia, February 7, 1760.

NO T I C E is hereby given to the poor Inhabitants of this City and Liberties, if they will come to the Wood-land, which lies on the East Side of Gloucester Road, next adjoining Hay-Creek, about two Miles from this City, they shall there be supplied with large Quantities of the Under wood, ready cut down, gratis, which will make very good Firing.

N. B. There are good Bridges already made from the abovesaid Road, across three Creeks fit for Carts to go over to where they may be loaded with the said Under-wood.

T H R E E P O U N D S Reward.

RU N away from John Euall, living in Amity Township Berks County, a Dutch Servant Lad, named George Koffman, about sixteen Years old, has grey Eyes, and apt to talk of his Relations, and boast of his driving a Team in the Army. Had on when he went away, a half worn Felt Hat, red and blue Worsted Cap, homespun grey Cloth Jacket, one Ditto without Sleeves a Tow Shirt, and Tow Petticoat Trowsers, and old Leather Breeches under them, grey Yarn Stockings, old Shoes, newly half soled. Whoever takes up the said Lad and secures him or brings him to his said Master, shall receive the above Reward, and reasonable Charges, paid by JOHN EUALL.

Just imported from England and to be sold by

JOHN & JOSEPH SWIFT,

At their Store on the North Side of Market-street, opposite the lower end of the Jersey Market, viz.

Scarlet, blue, green, red and drab coloured broadcloths, Indian blankets, blue, green and red halfthicks, red, green and cloth coloured 6-qr. naps, striped, red and scarlet flannels, striped cotton linseys, fine 8-qr. spotted swan-skins, an assortment of striped and plain camblets, blue, green, black and cloth coloured worsted damasks, both single and double, an assortment of fine durants, tammies, calimancoes and shaloons, mens, womens, boys and girls worsted and yarn hose, blue, green, black and buff coloured knit breeches patterns, cambricks and lawns in pieces and patches, long lawns of various prices, clouting diaper, Russia diaper and curdled Russia linen, fine brown Russia sheeting, Russia drillings, ravens duck, 7-8ths and yard wide Irish linen, Irish doulas and sheeting linen, brown and white yard wide buckram, 3 qr. 7-8ths and yard wide linen and cotton check, 9 qr. and 10 qr. Flanders bed ticks, check linen handkerchiefs, red spotted, blue spotted and king of Prussia handkerchiefs, cotton romale, bordered bandanoes, silk culgee handkerchiefs, lungee and new silk romale, flowered and striped bordered kenting handkerchiefs, an assortment of calicoes and cottons, large blue figures for beds, copper-plate ditto, 6 qr. muslins and humburs, black taffeties, striped ell wide perians, pink coloured mantua silk, mourning and hatband crape, womens black silk velvet, black mode, black peeling, fine black fatten, best balladine, sewing silk in half pounds, 4d. and 6d. silk ferrit, padusfoy, taffety and Persian ribbons, fatten and figured ribbons of all sorts, bar lead, pidgeon, duck, goose, swan and mustard seed mat, London steel, A C No. 3, nails, frying pans, writing paper, ink powder, garden sheers, sheep sheers, taylors ditto of sundry sorts, Hool's best pistol cap knives, buck cuttoes, fine Barlow penknives, green ivory handled ditto, buck, seal ditto. childrens spotted bone knives, knives and forks scissars of all sorts, white metal coat and vest buttons, horn ditto, carpenters hammers, files, rasps, a variety of sleeve buttons, lythes, sickles, pins and needles, gloves and large darning ditto, wool cards, felt and castor hats, blue and green faddle fringe and orris, brads ink pots, fountain pens, watch chains, seals and keys, an assortment of broad and narrow worsted binding, figured, lettered, scarlet and striped gartering, table cloths, white silk stay cord, stay strapping, braid, three yard silk laces, dandriff, horn and box combs, broad and narrow holland tapes, bobbin, Scots thread, full number thread, taylors thread, red leather paper cafes, striped cotton hollands, womens and girls black silk and worsted mitts, scarlet and green mohair, buttons and twist, mens and womens brads and steel thimbles, box, butchers and shoemakers knives, blue and white, and red and white nuns pretties &c. &c.

Queries.

REED-SCHRACK-HARDIN.—Wanted, the parents of the following brothers and sisters :—

(1) John Reed, "twelve years old when the revolution broke out." Tradition says he served in the Revolutionary War even though so young. He never married. Died in 1815 in Frederick, Md. Willed his property to his brother Jacob.

(2) Jacob Reed, born 4th January, 1772. Died 12 March, 1829. Licensed to wed 15 May, 1820, Susannah Jacobs, at Frederick, Md., where they lived and died. (She married 2nd time—Poffenberger.) This

couple had four children. Elmina (my ancestor) was born 26 Sept., 1822. Susannah Jacobs had a brother Ignatius Jacobs. Some records of this family are in the Evangelical Reformed Church, Frederick, Maryland.

(3) Abraham Reed, born 7 May, 1774. Married a Miss Brubacher of Rockingham Co., Va. Have no further information of this couple.

(4) Isaac Reed, born 5 November, 1775. Died 26 Dec., 1847. Married Rebecca Prall, whose mother was Mary Stout. Descendants live in Kentucky.

(5) Henry Reed, born 25 Nov., 1780. Died 30 March, 1815. Married Elizabeth———. Lived in Tennessee, Kentucky or Ohio.

(6) Benjamin Reed, born 13 March, 1782. Married Polly Prall, a sister of Rebecca (see above). Descendants live in Illinois.

Three sisters as follows:—

(7) Sarah (?) m. John Walling.

(8) Maria or Rachel (name not known definitely) m. Keefer (Kiefer). Settled in Pa. on the "Reading wagon road."

(9) Catherine, m. Abraham Schrack. They settled in Philadelphia about 1790 and kept an Inn, on High St., for years. Their son was Christian Schrack, who founded the Schrack Paint & Varnish business still in existence. He also left some fund to the City of Phila. for philanthropic purposes.

The 1790 Maryland Census gives a John Reed head of a family in Frederick Co., Md. There were nine (9) members. This would be possible as Catherine Schrack had married and removed to Philadelphia, and if the sister named Keefer had gone away.

Tradition says that the father of these nine children was a Quartermaster in the Revolutionary War; and circumstantial evidence points to John Reed, Quartermaster in Rawlings Regiment in Maryland (see Maryland Archives, vol. 18: page 159). From where did this John Reed enlist?

There is also circumstantial evidence that something might be found in Winchester, Frederick Co., Virginia; for Germans went from Philadelphia to Winchester and founded the Lutheran Church there, somewhere around 1740. Nicholas Schrack was one of the charter members.

The writer would be grateful for any records that will point to the birthplace of these nine children and to parentage of same.

Also, wanted—any information of Savial Hardin. He is set down in the 1790 Census of Penna. as head of a family in Washington Co., Pennsylvania.

Address—MRS. FRANCES HARDIN HESS,
496 West 133rd St., New York City.

SCHOLL.—Wanted the maiden name of Anna Maria, wife of George Scholl, buried in Indian Creek Reformed Church, who died in 1797. What branch of the family of Gov. Shunk's is she connected with?

MRS. C. D. FRETZ,
Sellersville, Pa.

MICHAEL McNALLY, born in Ireland, came to Pennsylvania with his parents, who settled in Philadelphia. During the Revolution he served in the Pennsylvania regiment of artillery to January 1, 1781.

In 1785 he settled at Clinton, Maine, and in the Census of 1820, his age is given at 88 years. His grandchildren, by his son William, recall many incidents he related about his services in the army. In the muster rolls his name is variously spelled McNally, McNully and McEnnally. The family records were destroyed by fire many years ago. Information is requested concerning Michael McNally, his family, and date of arrival at Philadelphia.

C. A. BEAN,
Portland, Maine.

HAWS OR HAWES.—Wanted, the ancestry of Isaac Haws or Hawes, born about 1782, supposedly in Lancaster County, Penna. He moved when a young man (16 to 20) to the western part of Pennsylvania, where he died in 1850. Who were his parents, brothers or sisters?

HERBERT MORRIS,
6400 Overbrook Ave., Philada.

Book Notices.

THE DESCENDANTS OF JACOB SCHOFF WHO CAME TO BOSTON IN 1752 AND SETTLED IN ASHBURNHAM IN 1757, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE GERMAN IMMIGRATION INTO NEW ENGLAND. By Wilfred H. Schoff. Philadelphia, 1910, 8°, pp. 163.

The most striking thing about this book is its account of a considerable German settlement in the States of New England, each one of which is represented. The movement was a rival one to Pennsylvania's, and was conducted by an agent named Crellius, whose morals were those already known to us through Mittelberger's *Journey to Pennsylvania in 1750*. The horrors of a cargo of negroes in the famous Middle Passage are equalled in the sufferings of these poor Redemptioners.

The book introduces us to a Massachusetts Germantown whose name survives in that of a neck of land near Boston harbor, within the present town of Quincy. The immigrants of 1752 were Franconians, Würtembergers, Swabians, Hessians and French Huguenots from Germany. An inferior vessel, the *Priscilla*, was used, in violation of promise; the passengers' meals were stopped when the ship was well out at sea, and the poor creatures were compelled to sell themselves into slavery to pay the captain for provisions.

It would be an interesting task for the admirers of Benjamin Franklin to vindicate him from conscious participation in the crimes of this infamous "Germantown Company."

Apart from its interest to the Schoff family, which is scattered all over the continent from Canada to Louisiana, the book is important for these side lights on American history. Of historical and human interest also is the Military Record of the clan, whose members have fought in the Revolution, the War of 1812, and on both sides in the Civil War.

There is a bibliography of three pages at the end, but the present work contains the first connected account of the German immigration into New England.

ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY, 1763-1774. By Clarence E. Carter, A.M., Ph.D. American Historical Association, Washington, D. C., 1910. Pp. 223. Justin Winsor Prize, 1908.

This essay, based largely upon unpublished and but little-used sources, is an illuminating contribution to the history of an obscure period in American history. The author's researches have been mainly towards the discovery of the legal, political, and economic relations between Great Britain and the Illinois colony, and the political events in Illinois which illustrate those relations. Commencing with a review of the general situation in Illinois after the cession of 1763, Professor Carter discusses the status of the colony in the British Empire, traces the course of events in Illinois from 1763 to 1774, enabling us at last to know what really went on in the country during the decade, discusses the question of the economic importance of the West to the Empire, and describes the various attempts at English colonization, pointing out the attitude of Great Britain toward such enterprises. In the appendix are several documents now published for the first time.

THE SEA KINGS OF CRETE. By the Rev. James Baikie, F. R. A. S. Illustrated; cloth, 8vo.; 274 pp.; \$2.00 net. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The author of this volume presents to the reader, in an untechnical and readable form, the results of the explorations which have recently done so much to enlarge our knowledge of the great pre-historic civilization which preceded that of classic Greece and on whose ruins Greek culture, as we know it, arose.

The book has been kept as free as possible from technicalities and the discussion of controverted points, and throughout the author has endeavored to write for those who love the noble and romantic story of ancient Greece but have been denied the opportunity of a more thorough study of it than comes within the limits of an ordinary education.

DEMOCRACY AND THE PARTY SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES.—A study in Extra-Constitutional Government. By M. Ostrogarski. Cloth, 8vo.; 469 pp.; \$1.75 net. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The evolution of the party system and its actual working has been carefully studied by the author in this volume, which is based upon the second volume of his larger work, "Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties." The present book M. Ostrogarski has condensed and thoroughly revised, bringing it up to date, enriching it with a great deal of new matter. The student and the general reader will find in this book all the data, with a full discussion of this subject, which the author has introduced into political literature. This volume will also undoubtedly prove particularly useful as a text in college courses.

NAZARETH HALL, AN HISTORICAL SKETCH AND ROSTER OF PRINCIPALS, TEACHERS AND PUPILS. By Prof. H. H. Hacker. Bethlehem, Pa., 1910. Pp. 191. Illustrated.

With the coming of the Moravians to the Province of Pennsylvania, the organization of schools for their own children and those of the

settlers, at once claimed their attention. Their first boarding school for girls was opened in Germantown in 1742, but later transferred to Bethlehem and became the nucleus of the school now known as the Moravian Seminary and College for Women. The history of their boarding school for boys dates from 1743, which after being located at various places in Philadelphia and Bucks Counties, was finally seated in the "Manor House," at Nazareth, in 1759, and has remained there ever since. Prof. Hacker has had access to the original records of this venerable institution of learning, whose history is so interesting in its details, noble in its aims and has been successful in its accomplishments. In the roster of pupils will be found the names of men who have attained foremost positions and fame in the political, professional, literary, military and naval annals of our country. The work is attractively printed and liberally illustrated.

THE WILDERNESS TRAIL OR, THE VENTURES AND ADVENTURES OF THE PENNSYLVANIA TRADERS ON THE ALLEGHENY PATH: WITH SOME NEW ANNALS OF THE OLD WEST, AND THE RECORDS OF SOME STRONG MEN AND SOME BAD ONES. By Charles A. Hanna. Two volumes, 8vo. With over one hundred illustrations and maps. Price \$10.00 net. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

The work is really a history of the Indians and the Indian traders, and their trade routes and villages between the Delaware and the Wabash, from the time of John Smith down nearly to the beginning of the Revolutionary War; although attention is paid especially to the period between 1692 and 1752, which the author calls the growing age of the American colonies, and which began with the journey of six New York traders over one of the Allegheny paths. These men, according to Mr. Hanna, were the first white men to explore the Ohio Valley. A critical examination is made of the claim that La Salle descended the Ohio in 1669, and the author concludes that this claim has not yet been satisfactorily established.

A large amount of newly discovered historical evidence is presented to show that the Shawnee Indians, who were thought to have come into Pennsylvania from South Carolina about 1698, really emigrated from La Salle's fort on the Illinois River some years before. Extended histories are given of the noted Indian trading villages of the Ohio country, from the time of their establishment, including Kittanning, Sewickley, Logstown, Kuskuskies, Conchake, Pickawillany, the Blue Lick Town, and the Lower Shawnee Town; together with much newly discovered history relating to the early Indian occupation of the Cuyahoga Valley. There is included in the work that portion of the hitherto unpublished Journal of De Lery, who fortified Fort Duquesne, relating to his travels in Ohio in 1755. Biographies are presented of George Croghan, Andrew Montour and his family, and John Finley, the precursor of Boone in Kentucky, with extended accounts of the Chartiers, the Le Torts, the Lowreys, and nearly all the other early Pennsylvania Indian traders who were the real first explorers of the Central West.

Lengthy consideration is given to the history of the Ohio Valley immediately before the white man came, and of the Indian tribes that then occupied it, some of them hitherto unknown, even by name, to the ordinary student of history.

A large number of rare or unpublished seventeenth- and eighteenth-century maps of the Old West are reproduced, illustrations are given showing the sites of most of the important Indian villages in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky, from 1670 to 1760 ; together with a number of the unpublished journals and itineraries of Thomas Hutchins, Captain Harry Gordon, and other eighteenth-century travellers, including Draper's unpublished account of John Finley.

PROCEEDINGS AND COLLECTIONS OF THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Vol. XI. Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1910. 8vo. Pp. 262, illustrated. Edited by Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, M.A.

In addition to the archæological papers, which are always an acceptable feature of the publications of this society, there are a number of historical contributions of more than usual interest. The "Influence of the Iroquois on the History and Archæology of the Wyoming Valley," by Arthur C. Parker, of the New York State Museum, has been prepared with much care and research. The "Reminiscences of Rev. Jacob Johnson, M.A., first pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Wilkes-Barre, 1772-1790," edited by his great-grandson, Dr. F. C. Johnson, throw much light on the early history of the Wyoming Valley, the founding of the church at Wilkes-Barre, and the efforts made to establish a school among the Indians of the Six Nations. Granville Henry, Esq., also contributes an interesting paper on "The Pennsylvania Germans, their personal and social Characteristics." The "Marriage Records of Rev. William K. Mott," pastor of the Baptist congregation of Pittston, 1833-1871 ; the "Ross Family Record," and the "Revolutionary Pension Rolls of Pike, Susquehanna and Wayne Counties, Pa., 1835," will be found helpful to genealogists. The reports of the officers of the society show the public spirit which animates its members, and the appreciation of the public. The invested funds now amount to \$52,000, and the Coxe Publication Fund, of \$10,000, insures the publication of an annual volume in the future.

THE EARLY COURTS OF PENNSYLVANIA. By William H. Lloyd. Boston Book Co., Boston, 1910. Pp. 287. University of Pennsylvania Law School Series.

For more than two hundred years the courts of province and State have administered justice to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania. Created under the peculiar conditions surrounding the foundation of the colony, subjected to numerous legislative experiments, their organization and practice present many peculiarities that can only be understood by a reference to their history. This history has been neglected, though it alone supplies the key. In the work under notice the author describes the establishment and development of the courts of the colonial period. The treatment is not exhaustive ; that would be impossible in a volume of its size, but the information contained will be found accurate, as it is based on a careful examination of the public records. The chapter headings are : "The Courts in the Seventeenth Century ;" "The Courts in the Eighteenth Century prior to the Revolution ;" "The Courts from the Revolution to the revision of the Civil Code ;" "Equity in Pennsylvania ;" "The Register's Court and the Orphans' Court ;" "The Laying Out and Opening of Roads by Viewers."

THE MAKING OF SMITH. A COLLECTION OF THE RECORDS, ETC., OF THE SMITH FAMILY OF CAPE COD AND HINGHAM, MASS., BURLINGTON, N. J., PHILADELPHIA, PA., AND BUFFALO, N. Y., AND OF THE FORTY-SIX FAMILIES THAT HAVE BECOME ALLIED THEREWITH IN AMERICA SINCE 1630, AND IN EUROPE PRIOR THERETO. In four volumes. Prepared for and under the suggestion of T. Guilford Smith, LL. D., by C. A. Hoppin, Antiquary, 1910.

Among the recent acquisitions to the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is this monumental genealogical work in Manuscript, imperial quarto, of 1182 pages and 700 illustrations. The data and exhibits have been gathered from all the essential and available records in the New England and Middle States, in England, Wales, Holland and Germany, and it became so large as to make its publication impracticable. A synopsis of the contents will indicate the value and extent of the compilation. Vol. I. The Smith families of Plymouth, Hingham and Eastham, Mass., New Jersey, Philadelphia, Buffalo, N. Y., and Burlington, N. J.; Sylvester family of the Manor of Shelter Island, N. Y.; Lloyd family of Bristol, England and Boston, Mass.; Brinley family of England. Vol. II. Eastwick family of England, Boston and Philadelphia; Bullock family of Philadelphia, Rowland of England and Duxbury, Mass.; Newland, Swift and Allen families of Sandwich, Mass., and Allentown, N. J.; Newberry family of Newport, R. I.; Ogden families of Delaware and Philadelphia Counties; the Houlson, Lownes and Lowe families of Delaware Co., Pa. Vol. III. Tunes, Meng, Klincken and Colladay families of Germantown; Williams, Zell and Jones families of Merion, and Baumin family of Germany. Vol. IV. Biographical supplement of data and exhibits personal to T. Guilford Smith, LL. D., incomplete. The first three volumes are practically complete.

THE HISTORY OF PARLIAMENTARY TAXATION IN ENGLAND. By Shepard Ashman Morgan, M.A., Moffat, Yard & Co., New York, 1911. 8vo., pp. 317.

This work covers the period in English history up to 1689, the year of the enactment of the Bill of Rights. The tax and the authority by which it was laid, was in the King and by the Bill of Rights it lay in Parliament, with the right of initiation in the House of Commons. The writer traces the growth of the power to lay taxes, as developed in the Saxon Witenagemot, the English National Council, the two houses of Parliament, and finally in the house of Commons, the representative of the people. The work is based on original authorities, with helpful annotations. It is the second volume in the series of "David A. Wells Prize Essays," Williams College.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS OF ILLINOIS, 1814-1879. By Franklin William Scott, Springfield, Illinois, 1910. 8vo., pp. 610. Illustrated. Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. VI.

The conditions under which the first Illinois newspaper was established, the *Illinois Herald*, in 1814, include many disadvantages. The

population was small and widely distributed, the means of communication were primitive, and both money and labor scarce. With the growth of population, of post-offices and post roads, the number of newspapers increased. It was no mean task, to collect the titles of upwards of three hundred and fifty newspapers published within the limits of the State for the past sixty-five years, and the success of the compilers is worthy of all commendation. The names of the publishers, changes of forms and dates of publication are appended. Copious indexes have been prepared.

VALLEY FORGE, A CHRONICLE OF AMERICAN HEROISM. By Frank H. Taylor. Philadelphia, 1911. 8vo., pp. 100. Illustrated. Price, in paper cover, 30 cents; in cloth, Colonial colors, 50 cents, postpaid.

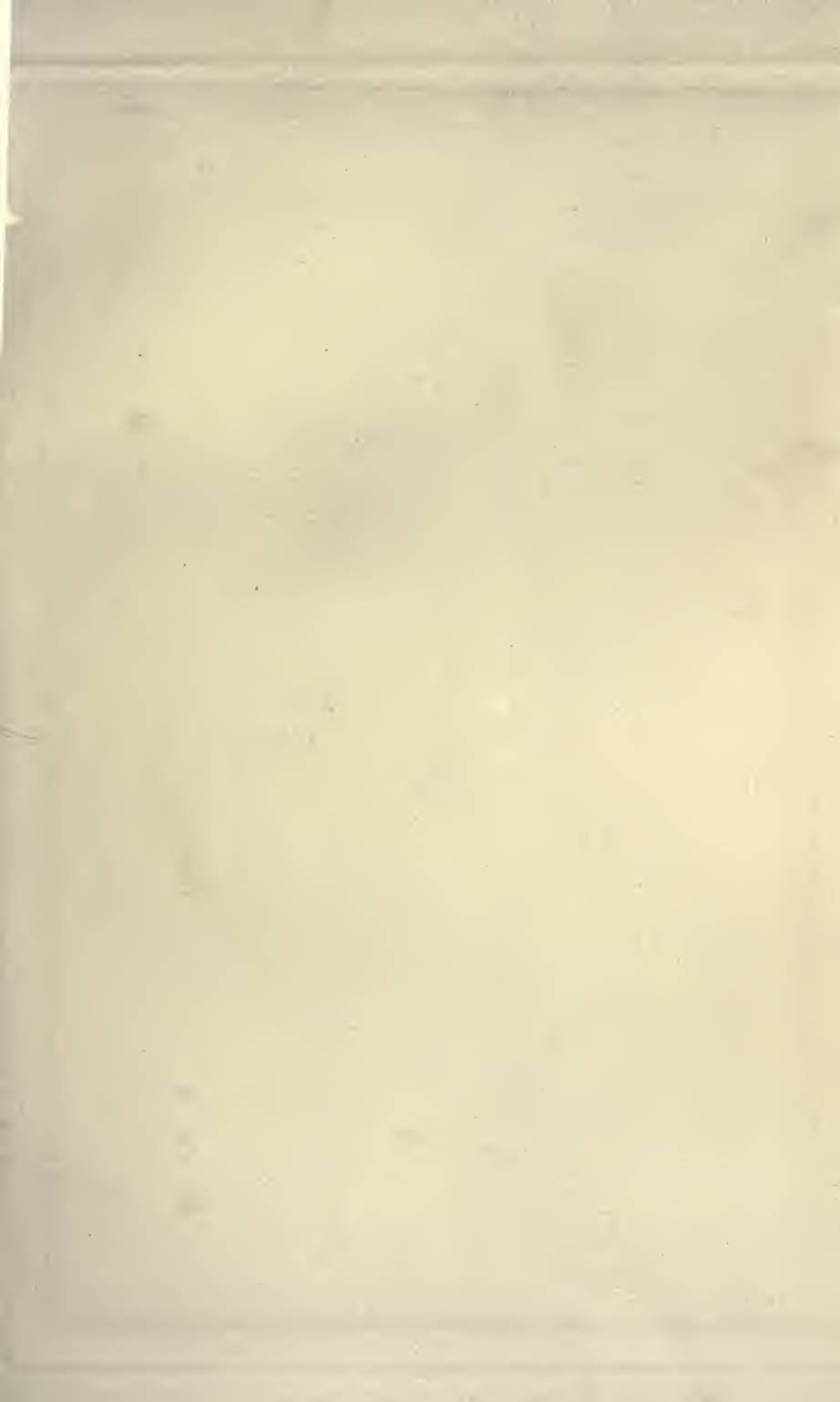
The second and revised edition of this valuable and handy book, with its one hundred artistic illustrations, including the arch, about to be erected by the National government, has just been published. Among the chapters that will claim attention are Valley Forge in 1777; the British Army in Philadelphia; occupation of Valley Forge and Washington's military family; the Commander-in-Chief's Life Guard and the formation of the second Continental army; routine of the camp; the cry of distress; the Conway Cabal; the coming of Baron Steuben; the French Alliance and Lafayette; the departure of the army from Valley Forge, and a roster of the troops. Much new and unpublished historical data has been added, and as an authentic work on this historic spot, it should be widely distributed; as a guide to the camp sites, it will also be found helpful. Address, Frank H. Taylor, 718 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

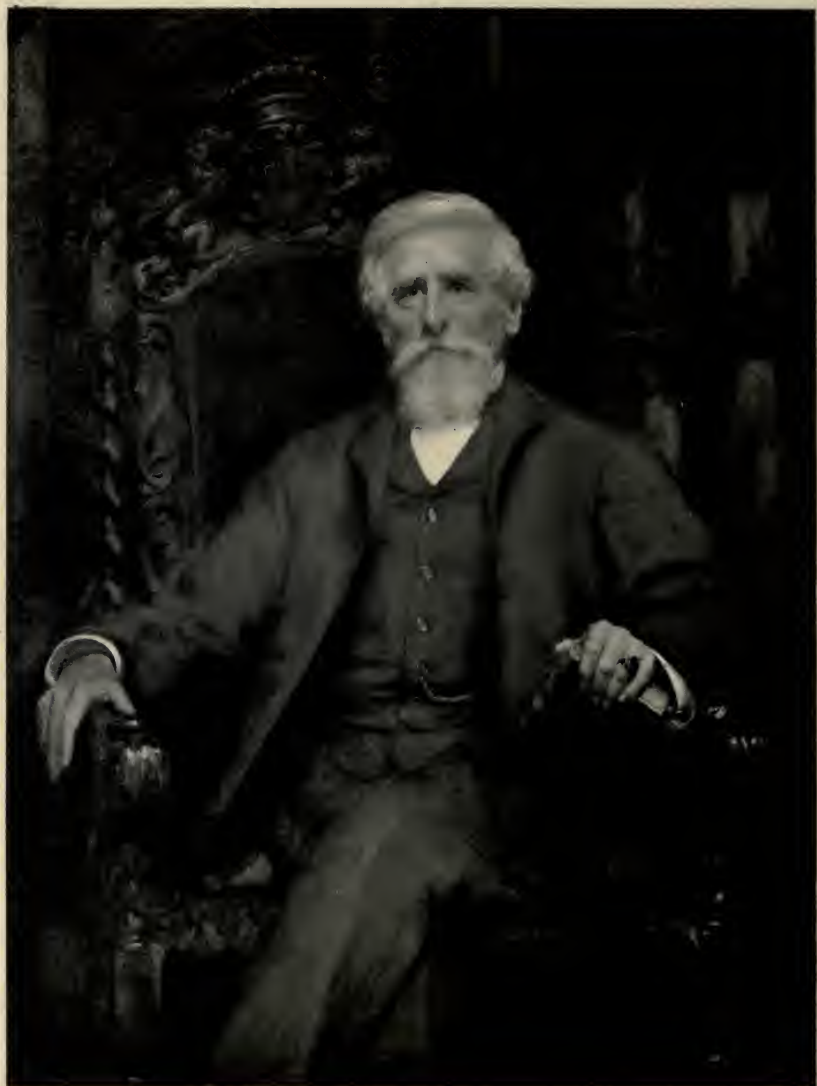
REPORT OF THE VALLEY FORGE PARK COMMISSION, 1910. Illustrated.

The report of the Valley Forge Park Commission to the Governor of the Commonwealth, for the year 1910, is both interesting and attractive. It is illustrated with seventeen full page sketches of the redoubts; the outer and inner lines of intrenchments; monuments and markers; the well kept roads; soldiers' huts and hospital building; reproduction of a French engineer's map of the encampment, the original of which is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; DuPortail's map, the original of which is in the library of Cornell University; and the three maps prepared by the Commission's engineer, giving the locations of the troops, headquarters of the general officers and other data that will be found helpful to the thousands who yearly visit this historic site. The late Congress appropriated \$100,000 for the erection of a granite memorial arch to be located where the outer line roadway crosses the Gulph road, along which Washington's tattered army marched into its Winter quarters. The Massachusetts memorial, which is being erected nearby, will be dedicated on June 19th. Movements are on foot to have other States erect memorials on the sites of the camps of their troops. The people of this country are indebted to the liberality of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for purchasing and restoring the site of this famous camp.

GOVERNORS' LETTER-BOOKS, 1840-1853. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson, Springfield, Ill., 1911. 8vo., pp. 469. Illustrated.

The work under notice is the second volume of the Executive Series, of the publications of the Illinois State Historical Society. The preceding volume was made up of letters taken from Volumes II and III of the manuscript series of "Governors' Letter Books," in the office of the Secretary of State, closing with the correspondence of Gov. John Reynolds in 1834. The present volume is similarly made up of the letters of Gov. Thomas Carlin, 1840-1841; Gov. Thomas Ford, 1842-1845; Gov. Augustus C. French, 1846-1852, and a letter of Gov. Joel A. Matteson, 1853; and a series of letters chiefly addressed to Gov. French by Julius Wadsworth, one of the financial agents of the State. The text of the letters is supplemented by explanatory notes on persons and events; and a study of the administration of Gov. Thomas Ford, by one of the editors, Charles M. Thompson, adds special emphasis to his administration and the critical character of the period. The general introduction was prepared by editor Evarts B. Greene. A bibliography of the works used in the preparation of the volume, and a comprehensive index, are deserving of more than a passing notice.





Henry K. Lee.

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XXXV.

1911.

No. 2

PRESENTATION OF PORTRAIT OF THE LATE

HENRY CHARLES LEA,

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE Stated Meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania of March 13th, 1911, was largely attended and the transactions were of more than usual interest. A life-size portrait of the late Henry Charles Lea, Vice-President of the Society, painted by Hugh H. Breckenridge, from the original by Robert Vonnob, was placed at the right of the President's chair. After an address by Edward Raymond Turner, Ph.D., Associate in History at Bryn Mawr College, on "Slavery in Colonial Pennsylvania," the President of the Society, Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, LL.D., read the following letter :

2004 Walnut St., PHILADELPHIA,
March 3d, 1911.

HON. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,
PRESIDENT OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENN-
SYLVANIA.

MY DEAR SIR :

On behalf of the family of the late Henry Charles Lea,
Vice-President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

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from 1890 till 1909, I have the honor to present a copy by Hugh H. Breckenridge of the portrait of Mr. Lea painted by Robert Vonnoh in 1896. It gives us great pleasure thus to comply with the suggestion of Colonel William Brooke Rawle, a Vice-President of your Society.

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR H. LEA.

REMARKS OF WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE, ESQUIRE.

Mr. President: I rise to offer a Resolution of Thanks.

During the eighty-six years and more of our existence as a Society we have had many distinguished men to fill its offices of President and Vice-President. Some of them have occupied the most exalted executive, judicial and legal positions in this Commonwealth; some have been leaders of our Bar; some have held the highest diplomatic positions in foreign countries; some were physicians of great repute; some among them have been men of affairs, men of letters, men of great influence and standing in the community. Among them have been historians and biographers of great and world-wide reputation. The work of these last mentioned writers, however, for the most part has, naturally, been restricted to the confines of the endeavors of our Society. Their fields of investigation have been chiefly comprised within those geographical limits for work in which our Society was specially formed, that is to say, Pennsylvania, the Middle Colonies and the War of the American Revolution. Though splendid work was done by them in their respective fields, none achieved higher honor or distinction than our late lamented Vice-President, whose likeness is portrayed upon the canvas before you.

Mr. Henry Charles Lea was a many-sided man, and he was eminently successful in everything which he undertook. We, within these walls, however, know him best as the ardent student and delver in the philosophy of history, a worker in the broad fields and deep mines of antiquarian material of an older civilization.

Mr. Lea's chief field of work, that for which he is known and will be known for all time in Christian lands, was in the history of the religious affairs of the Middle Ages. The crowning literary work of his life was his "History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages," in three volumes, which was translated into German, French and Italian, and later his "History of the Inquisition of Spain" and "The History of the Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies," making five volumes. These, also, are being translated into foreign languages. Others of his works have gone into second and third editions. The fairness of his opinions and conclusions, the total absence of one-sidedness or of personal and sectarian feeling, and the thoroughness of his work are characteristics which have drawn forth the encomiums of the free minded of different religious convictions almost without exception.

Mr. Lea became a member of this Society on February 22, 1869. He was elected a Vice-President on May 5, 1890. Upon reaching the age of eighty years, when he was endeavoring to rid himself of many of his responsibilities, he requested to be relieved of the office, whereupon he was elected on November 12, 1906, to the position of Honorary Vice-President, and continued to be annually re-elected as such during the remainder of his life.

A few weeks ago, on January 20, 1911, a remarkable meeting was held in the Hall of the College of Physicians in this City, to do honor to the memory of Mr. Lea. It took place under the auspices of five of our greatest learned institutions—The American Philosophical Society, The Library Company of Philadelphia, The University of Pennsylvania, The Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, and this, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It was a notable gathering of men and women of high social, professional and scientific standing; of prominence and distinguished rank in learning and literary endeavor. Such men as the President of The American Philosophical Society, Dr. William W. Keen, the Right Honorable James

Bryce, British Ambassador, Dr. Horace Howard Furness, Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, Dr. Joseph G. Rosengarten and Professor Edward P. Cheyney, joined in appreciations of Mr. Lea's character and his great work in its various lines. As has been said of the meeting: "The keynote in all the addresses was one of profound admiration for the unusual combination of intellectual and ethical traits which stamped Mr. Lea as one of the truly great men of his generation."

It is not my intention to give an extended account of Mr. Lea's historical work. This has been done by far abler speakers at the Memorial Meeting which I have mentioned, and will be also by the eloquent gentleman who will follow me.

As I have remarked, Mr. Lea was a many-sided man. In his early youth he was interested in scientific investigations, and worked and wrote in that line. Later he became the head of a large publishing business, which had been handed down for several generations, from the earliest days of our national existence. In the prime of his middle life the Northern side in our War of the Rebellion engaged his supreme interest and exertions. He was among the foremost of the patriotic citizens of Philadelphia in the work which resulted in the formation of The Union League, and he wrote many of the publications issued by it to encourage the patriotic spirit in this City and State which then was the chief object of its existence. He labored earnestly and successfully in the raising and equipment of regiments of troops to be sent to the Front; in keeping the ranks full by means of recruiting; in seeing that justice was done in regard to the filling of the quotas of men called for service, and in the payment of the heavy bounties which became necessary therefor. He organized and managed this work so successfully that when, at one time, conscription had to be resorted to, and Philadelphia was called upon to furnish her quota, a surprisingly small number of men—only forty-six it has been stated—had to be secured by such an unpopular method.

During the anxieties of that terrible War the concentration of patriotic minds on its problems allowed abuses to grow in municipalities, and Philadelphia was no exception. After the restoration of peace Mr. Lea threw himself vigorously into the work of reform and contributed of his intellectual powers, his purse and his time, with zeal and energy—indeed he was the chief of the leaders in that crusade against corruption, extravagance and political criminality. I saw him frequently in those days, for I was in the law offices of the late William Henry Rawle, who was the counsel for the Municipal Reform Association, which led and fought the fight with considerable, though not very lasting, success. Mr. Lea was a frequent, and at times a daily visitor to our offices for consultation, advice and assistance, and I can testify to the good and hard work he then did himself and in making others do likewise.

Philadelphia has had for many years the reputation outside of being among men the most hospitable place in this country. This came about from the fact that ever since the Winter of 1799–1800 there has been among us a social coterie of a high intellectual stamp, beginning with the informal weekly gatherings of congenial members of The American Philosophical Society at the residence of Doctor Caspar Wistar, the President of that time-honored institution. After Doctor Wistar's death these gatherings, under the name of The Wistar Party, continued until the early days of the War of the Rebellion, when partisan feeling became so strong, and opinions on the great issues at stake so diverse, as to cause the breaking of friendships and social and often home ties, the consequence being that the gatherings fell off and then ceased for awhile, their place being taken by other social coteries, none of them of long duration. When the time was opportune a resuscitation of the Wistar Party took place and Mr. Lea's father, Doctor Isaac Lea, resigned his office of Dean, or President, and Mr. Lea himself was elected to succeed him. For sixty-seven years father and son held the position of Dean, the chiefs around whom and their

associates gathered, on Saturday evenings at stated periods during the Winter season, much of the intellectual, professional, scientific and cultured society in our community, as well as the distinguished travellers, men of letters and learning, and other worthy celebrities who visited our City. Mr. Lea's interest and zeal in the Association were great and constant, as in all his pursuits in life.

There were many other fields of Mr. Lea's work, and it is a pleasure to know that a full and adequate Memoir of him is likely to be given to the world in the not distant future.

Mr. Lea was a man of profound learning; a master of several modern languages and a fine classical scholar; a careful and thorough student; an ardent lover of accuracy, truth and justice; a man possessing enormous capacity for work, and systematic in doing it most thoroughly; an exhaustive investigator of original sources of knowledge from their very foundations; a man of infinite pains in all he undertook, whose style of writing was most concise and apposite, with no unnecessary circumlocution or departure from the point. He was just and fair in weighing his evidence, and in arriving at conclusions and deductions, in which he was always without bias of any sort, religious or otherwise.

A marked characteristic of Mr. Lea's thoroughness of character and in his work is shown in the fact that, believing that a book without an index lost full half its value, and with a bad one almost as much, he indexed his own volumes in the most complete and concise manner, not counting the laboriousness, the tediousness and the drudgery of the undertaking. He held that the author alone could properly index a book.

He was exceedingly liberal in contributing from his extensive means to worthy objects, and his pecuniary assistance in the erection of this building in which we are gathered was a great help to us in our hard struggle for the accomplishment of that object.

We are fortunate in having upon our walls in this building many valuable portraits of distinguished men. We have a complete collection of the portraits of our Presidents and of some of our Vice-Presidents, and it is a great pleasure that this excellent one of Mr. Lea is added to our collection.

I move you, Mr. President:

That the thanks of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania be most cordially extended to the members of the family of Mr. Henry Charles Lea, our late Vice-President, for their kindness and generosity in presenting to the Society this beautiful and life-like portrait of him, copied by Hugh H. Breckenridge, after Vonnoh's painting, which will recall to our minds, and hand down to those who come after us, the features and resemblance of our distinguished associate and liberal benefactor, who has added so much to the honor and high standing of our Society.

REMARKS OF HON. HAMPTON L. CARSON.

Mr. President: I rise to second the resolutions offered by Mr. Brooke Rawle. My recollections of Mr. Lea make it an agreeable duty; my relations to him and to his family make it a personal pleasure. I often observed him in conference or discussion with men of affairs about matters of moment. I often met him on the street and had familiar chats about men and current events. I listened, alas too rarely, to his conversation about books, pictures and other things which interested him as a scholar and as a collector. He had a penetrating mental eye which saw far into the heart of things, while at the same time he had a breadth of vision which saved him from narrowness or near sightedness. He was never dogmatic, although he was always persistent in the maintenance of his opinions, and if challenged or annoyed by opposition which seemed unreasonable, he could cite facts which became overwhelming, not simply in numbers, but because of the manner in which they were marshalled by a master commander of what the world had

learned by experience. His mind was a microscope and a telescope combined, if the law of optics will permit of such an illustration. He knew and saw the smallest details, and he could draw their most distant relationships into combinations so as to present a result which was impressive because of the light it shed on the meaning of customs, formularies and conventions which formed the organic structure of society in past ages.

It is easy enough to say that Mr. Lea was a very learned man, and to point to the titles of his books and to the character of the authorities cited in the foot-notes, to prove that his researches were recondite, but after all that is very general, very vague, and quite unsatisfactory, because it conveys no definite idea of the quality or the value of his learning. We must go far deeper than that. We must examine his text, and then examine his authorities, and then go back to the text to ascertain what use he made of his raw material, how he assimilated and arranged it, and how he evolved a statement of the principle underlying his deductions. In that way we can secure an appreciative estimate of the illuminating character of his scholarship. An analysis of his mental processes will, I think, give these results. First, he collected his facts, his phenomena, his symptoms, and in doing that he discarded all theories and rejected all secondary sources of information. He was unwilling to trust to translations, but studied documents in their native tongues, whether Welsh, Anglo-Saxon, Ancient Irish, or Icelandic, whether Frankish, Gothic, Spanish or Italian. Next, he made exact and careful notes of his observations, and in these there was not the slightest trace of a dogma or a theory. Then, having exhausted the entire field of original research, and searched every crack and cranny and crevice of hidden or forgotten lore, no matter what their latitude or longitude in history, he brought his notes together. Having prepared himself by laborious analysis for the far greater work of synthesis, in mechanical phrase, he assembled his parts and fitted them into each

other, marking their similarities and observing their differences. Thus he prepared his mind for the consideration of their general significance, their striking adaptability. Then, with a divination peculiarly his own, which gave him the clue to the arrangement of multiform and widely scattered parts, he pieced out the puzzle in a compact and shapely structure, which as it grew under his hands gave out flashes of meaning to his cool and cautious brain until, finally, the arrangement being complete, he was ready to expound the meaning of his work in a striking, neat and precise statement of a philosophic principle, so simple and yet at the same time so convincing, as to carry to the mind of the reader of his books the assurance that the author had found the key that unlocked the mystery and threw open to public entrance all the chambers of the Enchanted Castle of Knowledge.

To change the simile, it occurs to me that Dr. Lea did in the field of history, both legal and sacerdotal, what the bacteriologist does at the present time in the science of biology or of medicine. He studied germs, isolated them, ascertained their exact character, observed their effect upon the body politic, and then announced the law of their operation. He used the microscope when his mind was engaged in analysis. He made blood tests when he generalized, and he operated on the lower animals in experimentation, if I may so describe previous conditions of our ancestors without causing commotion, and then announced the law of social life or the cause of a particular political disease.

We can test his mental process very readily. Take, for instance, the first book that he wrote, "Superstition and Force." It is that part of his labors which appeals most strongly to me, because it is an attempt, and a most successful one, to explain the origin of certain mysterious passages in the law of procedure and proof, which up to the time that he wrote had been a sealed book even to philosophic jurists. It consists of four essays, "The Wager of Law," "The Wager of Battle," "The Ordeal," and "Torture." If

we examine his foot-notes we find that he has not confined himself, as many men would have done, to an Anglo-Saxon examination to explain the law of England, but he has gone to the Sagas of Iceland, to Scandinavia, to Gothic and Early Frankish establishments. He is as familiar with the decrees of Clovis and the capitularies of Childebert and Charlemagne, as he is with the later statutes of Henry II and III. Although not a lawyer he has an accurate understanding of Glanville, Bracton and Fleta, three authors whose names are frequently on the lips of lawyers who have never opened the lids of the volumes. With an intuitive sense which can be described as a flashlight of the mind, he reveals the contents of the darkest recesses of history, and causes ordinary objects to stand out in such clear and scientific relation to each other that we find the evolution of the system delineated as happily and as easily to be comprehended as the chapter of Blackstone on the Action of Debt.

He applied the same methods of workmanship to his other books. In the preface to his "History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages" he wrote that at the commencement of his historical studies, he speedily became convinced that the surest basis of investigation of a given period lay in an examination of its jurisprudence, which presents without disguise its aspirations and the means regarded as best adapted for their realization. Clearly he was right, for we may talk about kings and conquerors, and their names serve but as shibboleths, while much of what they did or said has vanished, but in a statute, a crystallization of custom, a statement of what the sovereign power had once willed to be law, there dwells a permanent preservation of a vanished state of society. Just as fossil bones found in the drifts of hills, will enable the geologists to set the date of an era, so will a law enable the historian to depict the character of those who peopled the world at that particular time. Mr. Lea wrote and toiled in the spirit of that noble sentence of Lord Bacon in his essay on The Advancement of Learning: "Antiquities or remnants of history, are '*tanquam tabula naufragii*' (like

the log of a shipwrecked vessel), when industrious persons"—mark these adjectives of Lord Bacon, and see how fitly they describe the methods of Mr. Lea's work—"when industrious persons, by an exact and scrupulous diligence and observation, out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidences, passages of books that concern not story, and the like, do save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time." His work will always be regarded as original. I do not mean original in the sense that he created or invented, but original in the sense that hereafter there will be no necessity for any investigator, unless charged with some special inquiry, to find occasion to examine the actual manuscripts. He has done that work and done it for all time. We may talk of the monumental work of Gibbon, stretching over a thousand years, or of Robertson, the first of philosophic historians, or of the charms of Motley and of Prescott, but we find in Lea the midribs and the spine which constitute the framework upon which European institutions have developed and shaped themselves; we have them there defined in such a manner as to enable the thoughtful student to realize the force of the law of evolution, the development and the application of which Mr. Lea has made so clear.

I do not know how it is that we fail in our day and generation to see the greatness of men while they are still among us, perhaps it is because we are too close to them. We can place our eyes so close beneath the dome of the Capitol at Washington as to be unable to see anything except a mass of white marble. It is only when in perspective that it can be seen piercing the heavens and crowning the great structure which enshrines the institutions which shelter us and are to shelter our posterity. So it is that as the years recede Mr. Lea's monumental work will be appreciated, rising higher and higher and still higher above the labors of his contemporaries. Here in our midst was a Philadelphian, one of our own Vice-Presidents, who has rendered this Society a service and conferred upon this community an honor which no words of mine can fitly express.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE PORTRAIT BY THE PRESIDENT,
HONORABLE SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

Mr. Lea's fondness for literature and earnestness in investigation came to him with his pedigree. His father had studied and had published many scientific works. His grandfather, Mathew Carey, published "The Museum" in thirteen volumes, a collection of State papers and contemporary literature, and wrote many essays upon political and historical subjects. It is an interesting fact, worthy to have attention upon an occasion of this kind, that years before the organization of this Society, Mathew Carey urged the formation of a State historical association. Mr. Lea's intellectual activities were very varied, but he was essentially a historian. It cannot be said that his works were popular. It may be that even a large proportion of this select audience have never read them, but popularity and the appreciation or lack of appreciation of such as you and I, form a very inadequate test of merit. There are many popular writers who simply take the thoughts and the facts which have been presented time and again before them, and write them over, and their popularity only lasts until some one comes along to repeat the same process. Mr. Lea selected a subject about which before him men were not informed. He studied it with the utmost care, he presented it with all the charm of literary skill, and perhaps no other Philadelphian, perhaps no other American historian will be so long remembered among scholars and men of learning whose judgment is of value. He was for many years the senior Vice-President of this Society, and he made the most substantial individual contribution toward the erection of this hall. It is, therefore, eminently fitting that upon these walls should hang his portrait. I accept on behalf of this Society, the portrait so generously presented, and I assure the donors that it will be carefully preserved and tenderly cherished.

The Resolution offered by Mr. Brooke Rawle was unanimously adopted.

SLAVERY IN COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA.

BY EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

Associate in History at Bryn Mawr College.

It is almost forgotten now, but a long time ago there flourished in Pennsylvania a slavery not very different from that which existed in Maryland and other colonies nearby. The beginnings of negro servitude in this region are lost in the mist of colonial antiquity, but we know that there were negroes along the banks of the Delaware river in the days of the Dutch and the Swedes. As soon as English settlers appear, they also have them. Thus the records of Newcastle court mention them as early as 1677. In Pennsylvania they are found immediately after Penn's coming. "I have a negro servant whom I bought," says the Dutch baker of Germantown, Cornelis Bom. In 1684 Hermans Op den Graeff told in his quaint German how black men or Moors were held as slaves. Indeed Penn himself had spoken of them two years before, for when he granted a charter to the Free Society of Traders, he devoted one section of the charter to the treatment of negroes.

It may be observed that it was once believed that Penn never had any negroes, and his biographers used to try to prove that he was no slave-owner. This contention has long since been abandoned, as well it may be, since the Penn MSS. preserved in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania furnish abundant evidence to overthrow it. Penn's letters not infrequently refer to his slaves, while by the terms of the will which he made just before he left the colony for the last time, he set them all free.

Thus negroes were introduced into Pennsylvania. By 1702 they were spoken of as numerous. Many of the settlers desired to import as many as possible, but others wished to exclude them altogether. The result was that in

the period from 1700 to 1773 numerous laws were passed in the colony imposing a duty upon negroes imported. Sometimes it was two pounds, sometimes it was ten; on one occasion it was twenty. As a rule these laws accomplished nothing, especially if the duty had been made high, for the authorities of Pennsylvania had to have them approved in England. Almost always the Lords of Trade vetoed them there, since the English government was unwilling to have colonial legislatures interfere with the slave trade, then carried on by its protégé, the African Company.

What could not be effected by law, however, was accomplished by other means. The number of negroes in Pennsylvania during the colonial period was never large. There were not so many negroes in Pennsylvania as in New Jersey, and only about half as many as in New York. This was owing to two causes: the Quakers opposed slavery after a while, and the Germans turned their backs upon it from the first. In the beginning it is probable that the Friends owned more slaves than any other class in the colony, but after a time they began to be troubled by conscientious scruples. What report would it cause in Europe, said Pastorius and his associates in 1688, that in this new land the Quakers handled men as there men treated their cattle? Could Christian men do these things? In 1693 George Keith declared that the enslaving of men and their posterity to the end of the world was a great hinderance to the spreading of the Gospel. For some time most of the Quakers did not follow this advice, but gradually a great reform was made. First the Quakers stopped importing slaves; then they ceased buying them; and at last began to persuade each other to set negroes free. By 1780 this work was complete, and slave-holding among the Friends of Pennsylvania had come to an end. It may readily be seen that such an attitude on the part of a body of people, always influential, as the Quakers were, had much to do with keeping the number of negroes smaller than it might have been. Meanwhile the influence of the Germans had been equally

great. From the first they had almost nothing to do with slavery. As they came to constitute a very large portion of the population—from a third to two-fifths—their attitude was of immense and decisive importance.

It is almost impossible to obtain satisfactory information as to the number of negroes in colonial Pennsylvania. It is well known that statistics and numerical estimates made before the nineteenth century are practically worthless. The assertion of Ordericus Vitalis that William the Conqueror divided the lands of England among sixty thousand knights, is a well known instance. It has recently been proven that the actual number was probably about five thousand. Similarly there are some extraordinary estimates as to the number of negroes in Pennsylvania. In 1773 a communication to the Earl of Dartmouth declared that there were 2,000; but a few years later Smyth, the traveller, asserted that there were more than 100,000. The following figures are merely conjectures, but they are based upon a great deal of investigation, and are perhaps as near to the truth as the historian may now come. There were probably 1,000 or more negroes in Pennsylvania in 1700; about 2,500 in 1725; 6,000 about 1750; and probably 10,000 in 1780. The census taken by the Federal government in 1790 gave the number as 10,274.

The negroes imported were sometimes brought directly from Africa, but as a rule they could not stand the severe Pennsylvania winters. Peter Kalm says that the toes and fingers of negroes are frequently frozen, while Isaac Norris writing to Jonathan Dickinson in 1703, says "they're So Chilly they Can hardly Stir from the fire and Wee have Early beginning for a hard Wintr." Therefore it was found better to take them to the West Indies first, and later on bring the second generation to Pennsylvania. Many an old ledger or account book still preserved in Philadelphia shows how negroes were once brought there and exchanged for wheat, flour or lumber. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of September 4, 1740, advertises "A PARCEL of likely Negro

Boys and Girls just arrived in the Sloop Charming Sally—to be sold—for ready Money, Flour or Wheat”——. The price of a slave was different at different times and for different negroes. Perhaps an average price would be between thirty and forty pounds.

Something must now be said about the legal aspects of this slavery. The legal origin of slavery in Pennsylvania is a subject exceedingly difficult and intricate. It is sufficient here to say that slavery is rarely instituted. Generally it grows up and develops, and is defined in law after it exists. The first negroes in Pennsylvania were doubtless bought and sold for life, but the law regarded them as servants, that is, as men held for a term of years only. Thus the earliest laws speak of all servants, all servants white and black, and so on. In short before 1700 there were no laws about slavery in Pennsylvania. The laws passed to regulate unfree men had to do with servants only. In other words slavery in Pennsylvania had its legal origin in servitude. But after 1700 it was realized that special laws must be made to regulate men held for life, and such laws were made.

Some things that the legislators might have been expected to deal with they always left unnoticed. They never stated the consequences of slave baptism. In some places it was believed that baptism would make a slave free, since it was sinful to hold a Christian in bondage; and accordingly it was considered necessary to make specific declaration that such was not the consequence. Nor was anything said about the transmission of servile status. It is true that the children of slaves were born slaves also, but no law of the colony ever laid this down. There is little doubt the community recognized the principle from the first. In 1727 Isaac Warner bequeathed to his daughter a negro woman named Sarah together with her unborn child. Furthermore the legislature never did anything to determine the status of a child when one of its parents was free and the other a slave. This is a most important matter, and must always be determined in some way wherever slavery exists. Among

the Romans the line of servile descent lay through the mother. Thus the child of a slave father and a free mother was free; the child of a free father and a slave mother was a slave by birth. In the colony of Maryland the opposite practice prevailed for a time, and there the line of servile descent lay through the father. In Pennsylvania the Roman doctrine of *partus sequitur ventrem* was recognized, and the condition of the child was that of the mother. One result of this was that mulattoes were divided into two classes. If the father was a negro slave and the mother a free white woman, the child was free; if the father was a white man and the mother a negress slave, the child was a slave also.

The laws passed by the colonial assembly had to do chiefly with crime and punishment, with marriage, and with restrictions upon movement and conduct. In 1700 a law was passed which caused negroes to be tried in special courts without juries. They continued to be so tried until 1780. By the same law they were punished somewhat differently and somewhat more severely than white people. In 1726 further regulations were made, the most important of which had to do with marriage. The marriage of negroes with white people was forbidden in the strongest possible manner. If a white person married a negro, he was to be fined thirty pounds, or sold as a servant for seven years. If a free negro married a white person, he was to be sold as a slave, that is for life. The clergyman who performed the marriage was to pay one hundred pounds.

There were many minor regulations to which negroes were subject. Without written permission they might not go more than ten miles away from their masters' homes, nor stay out after nine o'clock at night, nor go to tippling houses. The penalty was ten lashes upon the bare back.

Some of these regulations remained a dead letter. For example negroes were forbidden to meet together in companies of more than four. Now it is certain that in Philadelphia, particularly, great crowds of noisy negroes congregating after dark, were a nuisance throughout the colonial

period. "The Grand Inquest—do present—that Care may be taken to Suppress the unruly Negroes of this City accompanying to gether on the first Day of the weeke, and that they may not be Suffered to walk the Streets in Companys after it is Darke without their Masters Leave"—, says the report of the grand jury for 1717. In 1741 complaint is made of the "Concourse of Negroes," and the swearing, fighting and disorder of negroes and other people. In the same year complaint was made of the great numbers of negroes who sat around the court house with their milk-pails until late at night, and who committed many disorders against the good government of the city.

For the graver crimes negroes were punished with hanging, branding, or transportation; for the lesser crimes with whipping, where white men would have atoned with imprisonment or fine. If they offended their masters also they might be punished by whipping. This the master might administer himself, or he might have it given at the common whipping-post, in which case he would send an order for so and so many lashes. The story of Hodge's Cato told by Watson in his *Annals* is familiar. Cato had committed some transgression, so his master sent him to the jail with a written order for a whipping. On the way he met another negro of unimpeachable conduct, and feigning sickness, begged him to carry the message. This the good Samaritan did, and received a sound thrashing in consequence; Cato meanwhile proceeding home in penitence and peace.

Masters might punish their slaves, but they were not allowed to abuse their power. They might not torture them, nor starve them, nor kill them. "Yesterday," says the *American Weekly Mercury* for April 29, 1742, "at a Supream Court held in this City, sentence of Death was passed upon William Bullock, who was—Convicted of the Murder of his Negro Slave." Both Peter Kalm and Benjamin Franklin declare that a master who killed his slave was liable to the death penalty; though Peter Kalm says that he does not know of an instance where the sentence was carried out.

He observes, however, that a case having arisen, even the magistrates secretly advised the guilty master to leave the city, since if he remained he must certainly be put to death.

Perhaps the most frequent and troublesome offense which negroes committed was running away. There is no doubt that for the most part they were well treated, but they did run away. They did not go off as frequently as white servants, but they left their masters almost as often as the cooks and servants of nowadays. Nearly every colonial newspaper contains advertisements for runaway slaves. Full descriptions are given in order that they may be identified. Most of the negroes had had the smallpox. Some had their teeth notched. One advertiser warns his readers that the runaway is a plausible liar, and may convince him that he is a free negro. Many characteristic details are mentioned. Mona is full of flattery. Cuff Dix is fond of liquor. James chews abundance of tobacco. Stephen has a "sower" countenance; Rachel a "remarkable austere countenance." Dick is much bandy legged. Violet is pretty, lusty, and fat. The clothes which they wear are carefully described. Cato had on "two jackets, the uppermost a dark blue half thick, lined with red flannel, the other a light blue homespun flannel without lining, ozenbrigs shirt, old leather breeches, yarn stockings, old shoes, and an old beaver hat." (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 5, 1748.) A typical advertisement for runaways, and one very interesting on its own account, is the following: "RUN away on the 13th of *September* last from *Abraham Lincoln* of *Springfield* in the County of *Chester*, a Negro Man named *Jack*, about 30 Years of Age, low Stature, speaks little or no *English*, has a Scar by the Corner of one Eye, in the Form of a V, his Teeth notched, and the Top of one of his Fore Teeth broke: He had on when he went away an old Hat, a grey Jacket partly like a Sailor's Jacket. Whoever secures the said Negro, and brings him to his Master, or to *Mordecai Lincoln*—shall have *Twenty Shillings* Reward and reasonable Charges." (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 15, 1730.) It was proved recently by Governor

Pennypacker that the Lincolns here mentioned were of the family from which descended the great Abraham Lincoln.

Runaways were frequently caught by the local authorities, who put them in jail, advertised for the masters to come and get them, and kept them until the masters came, or if they did not come, perhaps set them free.

For the most part the negro slaves of Pennsylvania were treated very well. Every traveller and every observer bears witness to this. Peter Kalm declares that they had as good food as the white servants, and Hector St. John Crèvecoeur says as good as their masters. The advertisements for runaways show that they were well clothed, beyond a doubt. The old household account books contain many items about slaves' clothing. "To 1 pr Shoes for the negro — 6" (shillings), says William Penn's *Account Book* for 1690. In 1764-5 Thomas Penn spent 7/7/3 for shoes for his slaves. A bill rendered by Christian Grafford to James Steel is as follows: "Making old Holland Jeakit & breeches fit for your Negero 0.3.0 Making 2 new Jeakits & 2 pair breeches of stripped Linen for both your Negeromans 0.14.0 And also for little Negero boy 0.4.0 Making 2 pair Leather breeches, 1 for James Sanders & another for your Negroeman Zeason 0.13.0" (*Pennsylvania Magazine*, XXXIII, 121.) As slaves in Pennsylvania were usually owned by well to do people with large houses, who had moreover only a few negroes, the slaves frequently lived in the same houses with their masters. The average number held was from two to four, though some of the colonists had many more. Jonathan Dickinson of Philadelphia at one time had thirty-two.

For the most part they were employed as house servants or farm hands, though a great many were engaged in trades of various sorts. There were negro bakers, bricklayers, carpenters, and shoemakers. Sometimes they were hired. William Penn and John Wilson frequently did this. As a rule, however, they are bought. The newspapers are filled with advertisements of negroes for sale. Perhaps these notices are not so trustworthy as when advertisers are try-

ing to find their runaway slaves, and are forced to tell the truth to facilitate the identification. The following is an excellent example: For sale "A likely young Negro Wench, who can cook and wash well, and do all Sorts of House-work; and can from Experience, be recommended both for her Honesty and Sobriety, having often been trusted with the Keys of untold Money, and Liquors of various Sorts, none of which she will taste. She is no Idler, Company-keeper or Gadder abroad. She has also a fine, hearty young Child, not quite a Year old, which is the only Reason for selling her, because her Mistress is very sickly, and can't bear the Trouble of it." (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 2, 1761.)

When their work was over the negro slaves of Pennsylvania seem to have had some time of their own, which they were not too tired to enjoy. As always they were fond of music and singing. Frequently advertisements in the newspapers say that a negro took his fiddle when he ran away. Isaac Norris' *Letter Book* for 1719 contains the following: "Thou Knowest Negro Peters Ingenuity In making for himself & playing on a fiddle wth out any assistance as ye thing in ym is Innocent & diverting & may keep ym from worse Employmt I have to Encourage in my Service promist him one from Engld therefore buy & bring a good Strong well made Violin wth 2 or 3 Sets of spare Gut for ye Suitable Strings get sombody of skill to Chuse & by it." Sometimes they were given holidays and allowed to go off on visits. — "our Negro woman got leave to visit her children in Bucks County," says Christopher Marshall's *Remembrancer*, and a week later, "this afternoon came home our Negro woman Dinah." When fairs were held in Philadelphia as many as a thousand negroes sometimes gathered together for carousal and barbaric rejoicing.

Many efforts were made to care for the religious welfare of the slaves. It is said that Penn had a monthly meeting established for them in 1700, and the Friends always took a keen interest in this matter. The records of old Christ

Church show that many negroes were baptized, and some were married there. When William Macclanechan visited the city about 1760, he tells us that he called on "the Rev'd Mr. Sturgeon, *Catechist to the Negroes*." Whitefield, who did wonderful missionary work in Pennsylvania about 1740, writes, "I believe near Fifty Negroes came to give me Thanks, under God, for what has been done to their Souls—Some of them have been effectually wrought upon, and in an uncommon Manner." Sometimes a negro preacher appeared. —"this afternoon," says Christopher Marshall in 1779, "a Negro man from Cecil County maryland preachd in orchard opposite to ours. there was Sundry people. they said he spoke well for near an hour."

As to marriage there was considerable laxity, though marriages were frequently performed. There was, however, much care taken to prevent the separation of families. The old bills of sale sometimes show that husband, wife, and children were all purchased together. An advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, August 22, 1778, says, "Wanted, Four or Five Negro Men—if they have families, wives, or children, all will be purchased together."

There is a great deal of evidence to show that negro slaves in Pennsylvania were treated most kindly. When sick they were nursed and cared for. The *Penn Papers* contain many items about medical attendance for negroes. A notice in Christopher Marshall's *Remembrancer* is suggestive: —"my Dear Companion—has really her hands full, Cow to milk, breakfast to get, her Negro woman to bath, give medicine, Cap up with flannels, as she is allways Sure to be poorly when ye weather is cold, Snowy & Slabby. its then She gives her Mistriss a deal of fatigue & trouble in attending on her." When negroes were too old to work they were generally provided for. Sometimes faithful slaves were remembered in the masters' wills.

Hence it may be seen that slavery in Pennsylvania was very mild. Indeed it was too mild to be perpetuated. Whenever men and women can treat their slaves as the

people of Pennsylvania treated them, they are living in an atmosphere inconsistent with the existence of slavery. Nothing then can preserve slavery but paramount economic needs. In Pennsylvania such considerations did not exist, and slavery was doomed. In 1780 the State legislature passed an act for gradual abolition. Pennsylvania has the proud distinction of being the first of the States thus to abolish slavery.

THE WEST COLLECTION
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

AN invitation was extended by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to its members and friends for Monday evening, November 14, 1910, to attend an exhibition of its unique collection of original portraits, sketches, studies, engravings and manuscripts of Benjamin West, one of Pennsylvania's gifted sons and the American President of the Royal Academy, London. Prior to the exhibition, Mr. Charles Frederick Ramsey, Curator of the Academy of Fine Arts, read a paper on "West as an Artist." Some estimate of the extent and value of the collection may be formed from the partial list which follows. The seven handsomely bound, extra large folio volumes, illustrating Galt's Life of West, were collected by the artist himself, and were acquired from one of his descendants; they attracted much attention, as did the portrait of West, by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

PORTRAITS IN OILS.

William Hamilton, of the "Woodlands," and Mrs. Lyle, his niece;

King George III. of England;

Queen Charlotte;

Rev. William Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania;

Mrs. Thomas Hopkinson;

Hon. William Henry, of Lancaster, Penna., and his wife.

PORTRAITS AND PRINTS.

There are no less than 30 engraved portraits of West, at different periods of his life, including the very rare one published in 1768, and a fine impression of Lawrenson's famous mezzotint, which is perhaps even rarer than the

1768 portrait. Among the other engravers represented are G. Dawe, J. Jenkins, H. Meyers, William Pether, William Darton, P. Faloner, C. Jose, H. Cook, Thomas Holloway, C. Heath, J. Fittler and C. Rolls.

The other portraits and prints number 350, and depict West's friends and patrons, the great artists of the world, and the places identified with West's residences and travels.

WEST'S ORIGINAL SKETCHES.

Two sketch books contain 110 figure drawings, among them James Dove, the celebrated schoolmaster of Philadelphia, and there are 17 sketches in ink and colors, which bear the artist's autograph, viz: "Lot," "Hope," "David," "Nest of Cupids," "Pharoah's daughter with the child Moses," "The Rape of Proserpine," "The Captive," "A sketch for the Demonias," "Christ Healing the Sick," "The Resurrection," "The Tragic Muse," "Patus and Arria," and "The Angel at the Tomb." Besides these are 46 engravings, after his greatest pictures, including a superb colored impression of "The West Family." Here may be also noted, West's own manuscript list of the subscribers who received copies of prints of his picture "Death of Nelson," engraved by James Heath.

WEST'S LETTERS AND MANUSCRIPTS.

This collection numbers over 300 letters and manuscripts, in the handwriting of the artist, including original drafts of several of his letters to King George III, unpublished papers dealing with the Royal Academy and important particulars relative to his numerous pictures painted for the Royal Family, nobility and clergy, and his payments to Bartolozzi. A few selections follow. Draft of letters to Sir Henry Englefield, Lieut. Gen. Turner, Marquis of Hereford, Col. McMahon, Lord Charles Bentinck, Rev. Mr. Sevell, Uvedale Price, Henry Fauntleroy, Baron Denon, Hon. William Wellesley-Pole, Sir John Fleming Leicester, Rev. Dr. Charles Burney, Earl of Powis, Lord Clive, Sir

George Beaumont, Lord Samuel Hood, Col. Sir Herbert Taylor, Lady Jane Seymour, John S. Copley; recommendation of Borekhardt to the King; on celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Royal Academy; on his portrait painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence; and letter on his painting, "Death on the Pale Horse."

Manuscripts: Works of Early Artists; Account of the visit of the Prince Regent to the Academy; Catalogue of Pictures and Drawings, with marginal notes; To the Council of the Royal Academy, 1803; Regarding distinctions bestowed on him in Paris. List of invitations to the dinner of Royal Academy; Notes regarding the expulsion of James Barry from the Academy; Addresses before the Royal Academy 1811, to the students in 1803, and on presentation of the Gold Medal in 1803; Remarks on Historical Painting; Bank and Check books Coutt's Bank, 1790-1804. West's original Catalogue, which contains full particulars of his 173 pictures and original drawings, which were offered to the United States, after the artist's death.

LETTERS TO WEST.

The majority of the 532 autograph letters in the bound volumes, are written by distinguished and prominent persons of the reigns of George II and George III to West; all have been catalogued. A few may be mentioned: Duke of Bedford, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Lord Mulgrave, Sir Joseph Banks, Henry Hamilton, Lord Charles Bentinck, Lord Bridgewater, Lord Elgin, Lord Palmerston, Duke of Devonshire, Marquis of Strafford, Baron Bretford, Major Gen. Benjamine Bloomfield, Michael Torcia, Henrietta Walsby, Dr. John Morgan, William Carey, Mrs. Hunt, John MacLeod, Francisco Boldini, Samuel Coates in behalf of the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital, Sir Henry Englefield, Rev. William Holwell Carr, Richard Golding, Thomas Heaphey, Thomas Allwood, C. Rich, Capt. John Pasco, Henry Hope, Noel Joseph Desenfans, Thomas Sully, Mrs. de Lutherbourg, Hon Sandys, M. Cos-

way, and Academy of St. Luke, Rome, notifying West of his election to membership, 1816.

AUTOGRAPH LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

Commencing with Royalty, there are many letters of George III and his consort Queen Charlotte, also of George II, George IV, William IV, and Edward Duke of Kent; James, "the Old Pretender," Catherine "the Great," of Russia; Louis XIV, Louis XV, Louis XVI and Napoleon I; Charles V, "Emperor of the West," Queen Isabella, and Lorenzo de Medicis, "the Magnificent."

Among the artists' autographs, are superb letters of Poussin and his great contemporary Salvador Rosa, and of more recent date, Sir Christopher Wren, Reynolds, Harlow, Lawrence and Flaxman.

The collection of autograph letters and documents signed by famous men, is very large and important. It comprises among others, William Penn, Franklin, Washington, Burke, Lord Chatham, Lord Howe, John Wilkes, Hunter (the great surgeon), Fox, Pitt, Spencer, Perceval, Wellington, Earl of Marshmont, Duke of Newcastle, Lord North, Earl Nugent, Sir Robert Peel, Duke of Portland, Marquis of Rockingham, Earl of Rosslyn, Lord Shelburne, Lord Stowell, Duke of Grafton, Lord Grantham, Prince Hoare, Earl Howe, Earl of Aberdeen, Earl of Fife, Lord Amherst, Viscount Barrington, Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Liverpool, Earl of Carlisle, Sir Charles Manners, Sir John Cavendish, Sir Walter Scott, Sir John Dick, Sir Francis Baring, Sir Charles Manners Sutton, Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt; Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas, Lord Bishop of Oxford, Richard, Bishop of Peterborough, Bishop of Worcester, Bishop of Exeter; Cardinal Callicola, Cardinal Colanne, Cardinal Alersandro, John Vanderlyn to Washington Allston, Philip Van Der Zee, John Glynn, and Gavin Hamilton.

Finally, receipt for the funeral expenses of West, £696 . . ; admission tickets to Royal Academy; account of the daily receipts for exhibition Royal Academy, June and July, 1814.

ORDERLY BOOK OF GEN. JOHN PETER GABRIEL
MUHLENBERG, MARCH 26–DECEMBER 20, 1777.

(Continued from page 89.)

HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 23^d 1777.

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	. . .	Stephen
Brigadier		Woodford
Field Officers	. Col. Sumner	Major Miller
Brigade Major		Parker
Field Officer for Piquet	. . .	Major Ball

The Waggon Master Gen^l is immediately to make a return of the Waggons with the army, therein shewing particularly the Uses to which they are applied and the Divisions and Brigades in which they are employ'd. The Gen^l Court Martial of Horse which was to have set yesterday, is to sit tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock at the President's Quarters, and if a sufficient number of Members cannot then be assembled, the President is to take the first opportunity, when the Horse are Collected, to notify the Members of the Court and the parties in any Cases which can come before them, to assemble at such place as he shall appoint.

After Orders.

The Gen^l Court Martial of which Col. Grayson is President, is to sit tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock at the Q^r Mas^r Gen^ls Quarters.

G. O. HEAD QUARTERS WHITEPAIN Oct. 24th 77.

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	. . .	Sullivan
Brigadier		Varnum
Field Officers	. Col. Prentice, L ^t Col. Weltner	
Brigade Major		Alden
Field Officer for Piquet	. . .	L ^t Col. Pope

Many abuses having been committed in impressing horses for the Army, the Commander in Chief positively orders that, hence forward, no horses be impress'd by any Member of the Army, without an Order from the Qr. Mr. Gen. or one of his Deputies or assistants, or a special Order from the Commander in Chief. The Brigade Qr M^{rs} are to make return tomorrow afternoon at 5 o'clock of all the riding and Bat Horses used in their respective Brigades, and the Persons and their Rank in whose service they are used. A Gen^l Court Martial whereof Gen^l Sullivan is appointed President, is to sit tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock at the President's Quarters, for the Trial of Brig^r Gen^l Wayne upon the charge against him, that he had timely notice of the Enemy's intention, to attack the Troops under his Command on the night of the 20th ult., and notwithstanding that intelligence, neglected making a disposition untill it was too late, either to annoy the Enemy, or make a retreat without the utmost danger and Confusion. Gen^l Muhlenburg, Weedon, Conway & Huntingdon; Col^s Stephens, Dayton, McClenachan, Stewart, and Bradley, Davis, Dehart and Thackston, are appointed members of this Court. A Return is to be made of swords wanting in the Brigade of Horse, as deficiencies may now be supplied.

Altho' the Enterprize under Gen^l McDougall prov'd fruitless, by reason of the Enemy's having abandoned the Post intended to have been attack'd, yet, the Comm^r in Chief returns his thanks, due to the Officers and Men detach'd for that purpose, who two nights successively cross'd and recross'd the Schuylkill, and to those also under Gen^l Sullivan's and Green's who were designed to facilitate Gen^l McDougall's operations, for the Fortitude and cheerfulness with which they went thro' the night march and Fatigue, which occurred in the Expedition. A Flag will go into the Enemy tomorrow at 10 o'clock, such Person's as have anything to send their Friends, are to have them at Head Quarters by that time.

G. A. O. The Court Martial for the Trial of Gen^l Wayne, is call'd at his own request.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 25th 1777.

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	. . .	Stephen
Brigadier		Woodford
Field Officers	. . Col. Lawson	Major Slait
Brigade Major		Williams
Field Officer for Piquet	. . .	Major Scull

The intention of a Certificate upon Pay abstracts under the Hands of the Brigadiers, was that the truth of them should be made apparent upon a Comparison with the Weekly returns, and unless the Brigadiers make such comparisons, the signing their names is but an empty form. The Commander in Chief therefore requires, that henceforward, the Brig^{rs} or Officers Commanding Brigades that are without Brigad^{rs}, carefully compare the Pay Abstracts with the weekly returns, before they make a Certificate of them. The Comm^r in Chief orders that a weekly return be made of each Brigade to morrow morning at 10 o'clock without fail. The returns to be made with all possible exactness, and of those Men return'd on Command, their respective Commands and the number on each are to be pointed out. The Gen^l will look to the Brigadiers or Officers Comm^s Brigades for the Punctual Compliance with this Order.

The Commander in Chief approves the following Sentence of a Court Martial held the 14th and 15th Ins^t whereof Col. Broadhead was President, and orders them to be put in Execution immediately.

L^t Nathan Ferris, of Col. Swift's Reg^t charg'd with being drunk and incapable of doing his duty, when the Army engag'd the Enemy on the 4th ins^t, was found guilty and sentenc'd to be Cashier'd. L^t Joseph Fish of Col. Durkee's Reg^t, charg'd with leaving the Platoon and Reg^t he belong'd to while on the March toward the Enemy on the night of the 3^d ins^t., and also with being disguised much with Liquor, was acquitted of the first charge and found guilty of being much disguised with Liquor, and sentenc'd therefore to be reprimanded by the Brigad^r Gen^l in the presence of the Officers of the Brigade.

The Gen^l again Congratulates our Troops on the Success of our Arms. On Wednesday last, a Body of about 1200 Hessians, under the Command of Count Donop, made an attack on Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, and after an Action of 40 Minutes were repulsed wth great loss. Count Donop himself is wounded and taken Prisoner, together with his Brigade Major and about 100 other Officers and Soldiers, and about 100 were left dead on the Field; and as they carried off many of their wounded, their whole loss is probably at least 400; our loss was trifling, the Kill'd and wounded amounting only to about 32. The next morning a number of the Enemy's Ships came up and attack'd Fort Mifflin & the Gallies and after a severe Canonade of several Hours, the Ships thought proper to retire, but in retiring a 64 Gun Ship and a Frigate run aground and were burned.

After Orders.

HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 25th 1777.

The Court of enquirey of which Gen^l Greene is President, is to sit tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock at the President's Quarters to enquire into the Conduct of Major Gen^l Stephens on the march from the Cove to Schukill Falls, in the action of the 11th of Sep^r last on the Brandywine, and more especially in the Action of the 4th Ins^t at and about German Town, on which occasion he is charg'd with Acting unlike an Officer. Also into the charges against him for Drunkenness or drinking so much as to act frequently in a Manner unworthy the character of an Officer.

TIM^y PICKERING A. G^l.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS UPPER DUBLIN TOWNSHIP Oct^r 26th 1777.

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	Green
Brigadier	Maxwell
Field Officers Col. Browne	Major Sedgwick
Brigade Major	Mullens
Field Officer for Piquet . .	Major Sneed

The Court of enquirey of which Gen^l Greene was President, relative to the Complaints against Gen^l Maxwell, report their opinion as follows, Viz. The Court of Enquirey having fully enquired into the Complaints exhibited by L^t Col. Heath against Brig^r Gen^l Maxwell, whilst Commanding the Light Corps, are clearly of Opinion that they are without foundation, saving that it appears he was once during said time disguised in Liquor in such a Manner as to disqualify him in some Measure (but not fully) from doing his duty; and that once or twice besides, his Spirits were a little elevated by Spirituous Liquors.

The Court submits it to his Excellency's better judgment, whether Gen^l Maxwell from these instances of deviation ought to be subjected to a Tryal by Court Martial. The Comm^r in Chief directs that the Gen^l Court Martial of which Gen^l Sullivan is President, as soon as the tryal before them is finish'd, proceed to the tryal of Brig^r Gen^l Maxwell, upon the Complaints refer'd to in the foregoing Report. The Comm^r in Chief approves the following Sentences of a Gen^l Court Martial of which Col. Broadhead is President, held the 17th 18 and 19th ins^t, and orders they be put in execution forthwith, Viz: L^t Col. John Maxharm of the 8th Virg^a Reg^t charged with having left the Regiment in time of Action on the 4th ins^t, & Also on the retreat of the same day, and also charg'd with delay when order'd to support the advanc'd Guard, was by the unanimous Opinion of the Court found guilty of the charge exhibited against him, and Sentenc'd to be Cashiered. Cap^t M^c Cormick of the 13th Virg^a Reg^t charg'd with laying down in Time of Action and behaving in a Cowardly and unofficer like manner, was acquitted with Honour. L^t Crane of the 5th Virg^a Reg^t charg'd with disobedience of orders, also with breaking his arrest, was acquitted by the Unanimous opinion of the Court.

L^t Thomas More, of Cap^t Harrison's Comp^s in the 13th Virg^a Reg^t, charg'd with encouraging the Men to breed a Mutiny and otherwise behaving unbecoming the character

of a Gentleman or Officer, was acquitted. Thomas Roch, a Mattross in Cap^t Serjeants Company, in Col. Cranes Reg^t of Artillery, charg'd with desertion and attempting to go to the Enemy. The Court are unanimously of opinion the Prisoner is guilty of the Charges against him, and do unanimously sentence him to suffer death. This sentence is to be executed tomorrow at 12 o'clock near the Artillery Park; 60 men with officers of each Brigade are to attend the Execution.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS 27th Oct^r 1777.

Major Gen^l for tomorrow Sullivan
 Brigadier Scott
 Field Officers . L^t Col. Bluford L^t Col. Patten
 Brigade Major Hitchcock
 Field Officer for Piquet Major German Battalion.

Such Regimental Pay Masters as have not already rec^d the Pay for their Reg^ts for the Month of August last, are immed^{ly} to apply to the Pay Master General for the same; they are also to bring in their abstracts for the Month of Sep^r, and to take particular notice that all Officers or Men who have been made Prisoners, or are missing, are to be made up, in the Company Rolls to the time they were made prisoners or missing, and no longer. The Pay Masters who have already deliver'd their Pay Rolls, are to call on the Pay Master Gen^l for the same, and regulate them agreeable to this Order. They are also at the same time to lodge with him lists of the Prisoners specifying their Ranks.

Advertisement.

A Young likely Bay Horse, branded O. G. on the left thigh, belonging to L^t Col. Smith, the Dep^y Adj^t Gen^l, has been missing since the Action of the 4th Ins^t whoever has her in possession, or can give information Concerning her, is earnestly requested to send her, or give such information to the Adj^t Gen^l.

After Orders.

The Ammunition of each Brigade is to be inspected without delay, and reports of the state of it immediately to be made.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS 30th Oct^r 1777

Parole.

C. Sign.

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow . . .	Greene
Brigadier.	Huntingdon
Field Officers . L ^t Col. Simms	L ^t Col. Grien
Field Officer for Piquet .	Major Harmer
Brigade Major	Day.

Detail the same as order'd the 29th ins^t save that the last six Brigades are to furnish Captains instead of the Former.

The Brigadiers and Officers Commanding Brigades, are without loss of Time, to cause the Arms and Ammunition of their Men to be put in the best Order, if proper Care be taken, Cartridges that are somewhat damp may be dried and fitted for use. The Seamen in the six Brigades, named in Yesterdays Orders, are to parade this forenoon at ten o'clock in front of Gen^l Varnum's Brigade, with everything belonging to them & provisions ready to march; the Execution of Thomas Roch is respited till tomorrow. Such Arms as are loaded and Cannot be drawn are to be discharg'd under Direction of the Officers, this afternoon at 4 o'clock, but no pains are to be spared to draw all such as will possibly admit of it. Divers Horses and Cattle having been brought off by the Detachments under Gen^l M'Dougall, which lately cross'd the Schuylkill, the Persons who had or have them in possession, are to report them immediately to the Quarter Mas^r Gen^l.

Returns of the Sick to go to the Gen^l Hospital are to be made tomorrow morning to the Surgeon Gen^l at Col. Biddles Q^{rs}; a sufficient number of Camp Kettles are to be sent with the sick. Those persons whose Cases are very bad, are to be sent immediately to the Quaker's Meeting

House, at the 20 Mile Stone on the North Wales Road, where the Surgeons of the Hospital will receive them. The Arms of the sick are to be left under care of the Reg^l Q^r Mas^{rs}, who are to Deliver them to the Commissary of Military Stores. A few orderly Men are to go with the Sick to the Quaker's Meeting House, proportion'd to the number of the sick. The Command^r in Chief approves the follow^s Sentence of a Gen^l Court Martial held the 13th Ins^t of which Col. Broadhead was President, Viz: Col. Alexander Martin of the 2^d North Carolina Battalion, arrested for Cowardice, was acquitt'd of the charge. He is therefore discharg'd from his arrest.

Advertisement.

Stray'd, a bay Mare about 14 Hands high, branded on the near Buttock F. R. Y.; whoever will deliver her to Henry Fry in the Culpepper Battalion, in Gen^l Smallwoods Division of Militia, shall receive Ten Dollars reward.

HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 31st 1777.

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	. . .	Stephens
Brigadier		Conway
Field Officers	Col. Martin of North Carolina	
Brigade Major		Bloomfield
Field Officer for Piquet	. . .	Major Smith
Brigade Major		Peers.

Richard Platt and Ranold Stephen M^cDougall Esq^{rs} are appointed Aids du Camp to Major Gen^l M^cDougall, and are to be respected as such.

The Deputy Q^r Master Generals are to make a return to the Q^r Master Gen^{ls} Office of all the Equipage, Stores, Waggon^s &c in their respective Divisions. The returns to be made tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock. The Comm^r in Chief approves the following Sentences of a Gen^l Court Martial of the Brigade of Horse, held the 24th inst. of w^{ch} disobedience of the Orders of Count Pulaskie, a cowardly

and ungentleman like manner in striking M^r Zielinske, a Gentleman and an Officer in the Polish Service, when disarm'd and putting him under Guard, and giving irritating Language to Gen^l Pulaskie. The Court were of opinion that Col. Moyland was not guilty and therefore acquitted him of the Charges exhibited against him. Col. Moyland is Discharg'd from his arrest. Archer Hinly a private of Colonel Bland's Reg^t charg'd with plundering W^m Lawrence, was found guilty and sentenc'd to run the Gauntlet thro' a Detachment of 50 of the Brigade of Horse. Judah Ludley a private in Cap^t Tallmage's Troop of Col. Sheldon's Reg^t, charg'd with extorting Money from John Thomson, and also for refusing to give himself up and attempting to escape from Capt. Richard and Francis Taylor, and attempting to draw his sword to keep them off, was found guilty and sentenc'd to run the Gauntlet thro' a Detachment of the Br^s of Horse consisting of 200 Men. William Patterson a private in Col. Sheldon's Reg^t charg'd with plundering Wm. Lawrence was found guilty and sentenc'd to run the Gauntlet thro' a Detachm^t of 50 Men of the Brigade of Horse. Some doubt having arisen with regard to the Order of Promotions, The Comm^r in Chief thinks it expedient again to declare, that Promotions shall be regimental as high as the Ranks of Captains inclusively, all from that Rank in the Line of the State, but nevertheless to such exceptions as merit or unworthiness shall render just and proper, agreeable to the General Orders formerly issued at Middle Brook on that head.

Advertisement.

Stray'd from Gen^l Weedon's Brigade the 25th inst, a bright bay Horse, about 13 Hands 3 inches high, with a few large Saddle Spots on each side his Back, part of his right fore foot white, and very thin tail. A Reward of Twenty Dollars will be given to any Person who will deliver him to Will^m Sanford Cap^t 2^d Virginia Reg^t.

Lost on Tuesday 28th Inst in or near the Present Encamp-

ment, a small single Cas'd Silver Watch, with a China Face and Gold Hands, winds up on the face side, steel chain with a Curtain Hook, and a streight Key; whoever brings the s^d Watch to Col. William Richardson's Quarters, in Gen^l Sullivan's Division, shall have 16 Dollars reward.

Eight Dollars Reward.

Was taken out of the Subscriber's Tent last night, a large Rose Blanket; whoever will bring the said Blanket to me, shall receive the above Reward.

ROB^T SMITH, 5th class Philad^a Militia.

P. S. it is requested that if the Blanket is brought to a Taylor to be cut up, he may stop it.

G. O.

HEAD QUARTERS NOV^r 1st 1777

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow . . .	Sullivan
Brigadier	Wayne
Field Officers . . .	Col. Lamb L ^t Col. Hubley
Field Officer for Piquet . . .	Major Buchart
Brigade Major	Williams

Detail the same as Yesterday, only the other six Brigades furnish Captains yesterday, & the North Carolina Brigade is to furnish 15 instead of 26 privates. The Commissary's are directed to take all the Liquors in the hands of the Suttlers at a reasonable price if they can agree, and if they cannot, the Suttlers are to carry them away, and no Suttler shall be allow'd to Continue in Camp, after the 5th Ins^t.

A Gen^l Court Martial of which Gen^l Sullivan was President, was held the 25th, 26th, 27th and 30th of Oct^r last, for the tryal of Gen^l Wayne on the following charge, Viz^o: "that he had timely notice of the Enemy's intention's to attack the Troops under his Comm^d on the night of the 20th Sept^t last, and notwithstanding that intelligence, neglected making a Disposition, untill it was too late either to Annoy the Enemy or Make a retreat without the utinost danger &

confusion." Upon which the Court pronounce their Sentence as follows:

The Court having fully consider'd the Charge against B. G. Wayne, and the Evidence produc'd to them, are unanimously of Opinion, that Gen^l Wayne is not guilty of the Charge exhibited against him, but that he on the night of the 20th Ult, that is of Sep^r last, did everything that could be expected from an Active, brave and Vigilant Officer under the orders he then had; the Court do Acquitt him with the Highest Honour. The Commander in Chief approves the Sentence. The Court Martial of which Col. Bland was President is dissolv'd.

Henceforward whenever any non Commiss^d Officers or Soldiers shall be Confined for Crimes not triable, by a Reg^l Court Martial, the Brigadiers or Officers commanding Brigades, are without delay to order Court Martials to try them, and the sentences of such Courts they are to approve or disapprove, as to them shall appear just, and cause them to be executed, except only where the Prisoners are sentenc'd to suffer Death. As an encouragement to all Persons to take up and bring to Head Quarters any Deserters from the Continental Army, the Comm^r in Chief hereby promises a reward of Ten Dollars for each Deserter so taken and brought in, besides one shilling a mile for every mile they travell, to be Computed from the Place where he is taken to Camp; this Bounty and Mileage to be paid to all non Commiss^d Officers and Privates who bring in Deserters, as well as to the Inhabitants of the States. Many reasons have concurred to induce the Comm^r in Chief to extend mercy to Tho^s Roch now under sentence of Death for desertion, and to grant him his pardon, which is hereby declar'd, he is to return to his Corps immediately. The Comm^r in Chief expecting that by his future good behaviour, he will attone for his past Crimes and shew himself worthy of this act of Clemency. A Detachment of 400 Men, with a proportion of Officers, are to parade tomorrow morning at sun rise at the Grand Parade; 30 Light Dragoons are to parade at the

same time and place. Detail the same as for Piquet; Col. Parker, L' Col. Nicholas and Major Menbys are the Field Officers to Command this Party.

A. O.

The Army is to march tomorrow morning with all the Baggage, the right wing down the Skippack Road in this Order from the left:

Gen^l Waynes Division
Gen^l Sullivan
Lord Stirling

Park of Artillery and Waggons of that Wing in the order of the Division.

The left wing down the Road on which Gen^l Greene is encamp'd, in this order:

Gen^l M^cDougall's
Gen^l Greene's
Gen^l Stephens

Waggons in the Order of the Division.

The left Wing to march by the right, the North Carolina Brigade to march with Gen^l M^cDougall's Division and be consider'd as part of it; during the absence of Gen^l Varnums Brig^e, the Horse are to be divided, half marching at the Head of each Column; the leading Divisions will beat a March when they move, to be followed by the other Divisions in their Order. Gen^l Irvines Brigade to follow the right wing, and Gen^l Smallwood's Division the left wing.

HEAD QUARTERS NOV^r 2^d 1777 (WHITE MARSH).

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	.	.	.	.	Greene
Brigadier Gen ^l	.	.	.	.	Irvine
Field Officers	.	.	.	.	Col. Broadhead L' Col. Innis
Brigade Major	.	.	.	.	Mullins
Field Officer for Piquet	.	.	.	.	Major Polk

Detail the same as yesterday, only the North Carolina Brigade gives no Men. Each Division is to open a Road into the best and nearest main Road, leading into the Country, by which the Waggon's and Troops may move with the greatest ease and Dispatch. The Comm^r in Chief relies upon the Officers Commanding Divisions, to see this necessary Work, perform'd as soon as possible. The Waggon's are to be drawn up regularly in the best order for moving and every Night the Horses are to be tied to the Waggon's and geer'd every Morning at daylight. The Division and Brigade Q^r Masters are to provide Straw for the Troops, taking none that is not thresh'd, but the Men will Collect what leaves they can for the same end.

The Gen^l Court Martial of which Gen^l Sullivan is President, is to sit tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock at the President's Quarters for the Trial of Major Gen^l Stephen upon the Charges exhibited against him. The delay that may arise from the appoint^{mt} of new Members & the impracticability of changing the Gen^l Officers, without introducing those who already have been on the Court of Enquirey, relative to the same Charges, renders it necessary that the trial should be before the same Court.

HEAD QUARTERS NOV^r 3^d 1777.

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	. . .	M ^c Dougall
Brigadier		Scott
Field Officers	Col. Marshall	L ^t Col. Butler
Field Officer for Piquet		
Brigade Major		M ^c Gowen

The Officers and Men are by no means to be absent from Camp. Provisions for to-day and tomorrow are to be drawn & Cook'd immediately, and everything held in readiness for marching at the Shortest notice. The Brigadier's and Officers Comm^s Brigades, are without loss of time to provide themselves each wth a guide well acquainted with the neighbouring Country. The Waggon's are to be in the rear of

their respective Divisions and kept ready to move as directed in Yesterday's Orders.

The Quarter Masters are to cause Necessaries to be made for the Convenience of each Brigade. The Col. of each Reg^t of Horse, is to make a Return of the number and condition of his horses and Furniture, and of the Arms and accoutrements of his Men; the returns to be made & deliver'd in tomorrow forenoon without fail. Detail the same as last order'd, except that the two Maryland Brigades & Muhlenburg's, Weedon's, Woodford's & Scotts' each furnish Captains. The Post Office is kept at Edward Hopkins's near Farmer's Mills by the Great Bridge, the Post Master has paper to sell at the Price he gave for it.

HEAD QUARTERS WHITE MARSH NOV^r 4th 1777.

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	Sullivan
Brigadier	Woodford
Field Officers	Col. Hogan Major Taylor
Brigade Major	Mennis

Detail the same as Yesterday.

A Gen^l Court Martial of which Gen^l Sullivan was President was held the 30th Oct^r last and the two following Days for the trial of Brig^r General Maxwell, on the following charge, "That he was once during the time he commanded the light Troops, disguis'd with Liquor in such a manner as to disqualify him in some measure, but not fully, from doing his Duty, and that once or twice besides his Spirits were a little elevated with Liquor," upon which the Court pronounc'd sentence as follows:

The Court having Consider'd the Charges & evidence are of opinion that Brig^r Gen^l Maxwell, while he Commanded the light Troops was not at any time disguised with Liquor so as to disqualify him, in any measure from doing his duty; they do therefore acquit him of the Charge. The Pay Master's Quarters is at Nathan Cleaver's, in the Rear of Gen^l Stephen's Division.

G. A. O. Nov^r. 4th 1777.

Each Brigade to furnish a Fatigue party the same as to Day, to Compleat the Abatees, the Brigade Q^r Master's are directed to apply to the Q^r Mas^r Gen^l for Axes for the Briga^s.

HEAD QUARTERS WHITE MARSH Nov^r. 5th 1777

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	Greene
Brigadier	Wayne
Field Officers Col. David Hall L ^t Col. Farmer	
Brigade Major	Parker

The independant Company commanded by Cap^t Weaver, is to be annexed to, and do duty with the 10th Pennsylv^a Reg^t till further orders. A dispute having arisen relative to certain Men enlisted by M^r Nelson now doing duty in the 7th Pennsylv^a Reg^t, A Court of Enquirey is to examine into the Matter and report their opinion, whether those Men should remain as they are or be transferr'd to the 9th Pennsylv^a Reg^t for which Reg^t it is said they were enlisted. A Field Officer and Captain from Maxwell's Brigade and 1 Field Officer from Col. Humpton's Brigade are to Compose the Court, which is to sit tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock, at L^t Col. Brearly's Quarters, who is to be one of the Members.

It is expected by the Comm^r in Chief that all intelligence from the Enemy's Lines which may come to the knowledge of any Officer and bears the Marks of Authority, will be immediately communicated to him or the Major Gen^l of the Day, who will, if the cause requires it, give immediate information thereof.

Officers Commanding at out Posts are to receive & obtain all passes, which are given merely for the Purpose of passing them, lest they should be put to an improper use. Since the Gen^l left German Town in the middle of Sep^r last, he has been without his Baggage, and on that account, is unable to receive Company in the Manner he could wish, he never-

theless desires the Genl^e Field Officers and Brigade Major of the Day to dine with him in future. At 3 o'clock. A Detachment of 370 Men properly Officer'd is to parade to-morrow morning at sun rise on the grand parade. The detail is the same as for the daily Guards. Detail the same as Yesterday. Col. Russell, L^t Col. Mead and Major Sill are to Command the detachment.

HEAD QUARTERS WHITE MARSH NOV^r 8th 1777

Major Gen^l for tomorrow Greene
 Brigadier Woodford
 Field Officers L^t Col. Davis, Major — of 10th Pennsy^a Reg^t
 Brigade Major — — of Scotts Brigade

Detail the same as Yesterday, only the two Maryland and four Virginia Brigades, furnish Captains, in the room of those who gave them Yesterday.

The service requiring that the Men be ready to March on the Shortest notice, the Officers Comm^s Brigades and Corps, are to be particularly careful to keep their Men constantly Supplied with two Days Provisions on hand, to make the more dispatch in the trial of Officers under arrest; Brigade Gen^l Court Martials are to be held without delay, for the trial of all such officers, as shall apply to the Brigadiers or Officers Comm^s Brigades for tryal before those Courts.

The Comm^r in Chief Approves of the Sentence of the Gen^l Court Martial, relative to Brig^r Gen^l Maxwell, published in Gen^l Orders of the 4th inst, but thro' mistake that approbation was not inserted.

HEAD QUARTERS WHITE MARSH NOV^r 9th 1777.

Major Gen^l for to-morrow . . Sullivan
 Brigadier Gen^l Maxwell
 Field Officers L^t Col. Powell Major Harman
 Brigade Major Day

Detail the same as Yesterday. Nicholas Vancortland Esq^r is appointed Aid du Camp to Major Gen^l Sullivan, is

to be respected as such. Cap^t Peter Bryan Brewin Esq.^r is appointed Volunteer Aid du Camp to Major Gen^l Sullivan, and is to be respected as such.

One Piece of Cannon at Gen^l Irvine's Brigade is to be discharg'd this afternoon at 4 o'clock, it being found unpracticable to draw the charge. All the Waggon^s which can be emptied without great inconvenience, are to be got ready in the several Brigades and assemble this day at such place and hour, as the Forrage Master Gen^l shall direct, and be dispos'd of by him. The Brigadiers and Officers Command^s Brigades are with as much dispatch as possible, to have their Brigades paraded, and from their own Observation take an account of the Articles of Cloathing indispensibly necessary for the men.

Many of the men mount guard daily who make a very unsoldier like appearance, the Adj^{'ts} and Brigade Majors will be respectively answerable that henceforward they bring no Man to the Parade whose appearance is not as decent as his Circumstances will permit, having his beard shaved, hair comb'd, face wash'd and clothes put on in the best manner in his power.

Cap^t Craig, of Col. Moyland's Reg^t, with his Party of Horse has taken 7 British Dragoons and 7 Soldiers with their horses, Arms and Accoutrements, the Gen^l desires Cap^t Craig, Cap^t Lee and the other Officers who have distinguish'd themselves, will accept his cordial thanks for the enterpriz^s Spirit and bravery they have exhibited in harrasing and making Captives of the Enemy.

All the Gen^l Officers in Camp are to assemb^l at 10 o'clock tomorrow in the forenoon at Gen^l Greens' to settle the Rations. The Gen^l Officers will attend this in preference to any other Duty and make report as soon as they have finish'd it. A Detachment of 370 men are to Parade on the grand Parade precisely at 3 o'clock tomorrow morning, with their arms & accoutrements, and one Days provisions Cook'd. The Brigade Majors will have their men turned out and see that everything be in order this after-

noon, and parade them tomorrow morning with the greatest punctuality. The Detail the same as for the Guards. Col. Spencer & L' Col Starr and Major Bruster are appointed to Command this detachment. 24 light Dragoons are to parade at the same time and place.

Advertisement.

Was lost Yesterday somewhere on the Road from the Artillery Park to White Marsh Church, thence up the North Wales Road, in the Rear of Lord Sterling's Division, on to Head Quarters, a Pocket prospective glass, Brass Barrell'd and mahogany Cassed, with the letters H Knox thereon, whoever will return the same to Gen' Knox shall receive a handsome reward.

HEAD QUARTERS NOV' 10th 1777.

Major Gen' for tomorrow	Greene
Brigadier Genl	Smallwood
Field Officers Col. Clark and Major Ellison	
Brigade Major	Williams

Detail the same as Yesterday, only Hartley's, Humpton's, Maxwell's, Conway's, Carolina's and Huntingdon's Brigades furnish Captains, instead of those which furnish'd them Yesterday.

Mislaid or taken from the Artillery Park on the 8th Ins^t, a Genteel Silver mounted sword, shell of openwork and decorated with trophies, the blade a spadroon, inlaid wth Gold, the [torn] of the Scabbard lost. Whoever will return the same to Colonel Proctor of the Artillery, shall receive a generous reward.

Col. Bradley is appointed President of a Court of Enquirey, relative to the complaint of Mr. Joseph Chambers against Col. Josiah Parker. L' Col. Farmer, one Captain from Gen' Weedon's and two Capt^s from Gen' Muhlenburg's Brigades, are appointed members of this Court, which is to sit at Col. Bradley's Quarters tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

HEAD QUARTERS NOV^r 11th 1777.

Major Gen^l for tomorrow . . Lord Sterling
Brigadier Gen^l Scott
Field Officers L^t Col. Beaufort Major Bayard
Brigade Major. McGowen

Detail the same as Yesterday.

The Honb^{le} Continental Congress have passed the following Resolves, which have been transmitted thither to be made Public in y^e Army Viz^e In Congress Nov^r 1777 :

Resolved, that his Excell^y Governor Caswell of North Carolina be requested to erect a monument of the value of 500 Dollars at the expence of the United States in honour of the Memory of Brigadier Gen^l Francis Nash, who fell in the Battle of German Town on the 4th Day of Oct^r 1777, bravely contending for the independence of his Country.

Resolv'd that the Thanks of Congress in their own Name, and in behalf of the Inhabitants of the United States, be presented to Major Gen^l Gates, Commander in Chief, in the Northern Department, and to the Major Gen^l Lincoln, Arnold and the rest of the officers and Troops under his Command, for their brave and successful Efforts in support of the independence of their Country, whereby an Army of the Enemy of Ten Thousand men has been totally defeated ; and one large detachment of it strongly posted & entrench'd having been conquer'd at Bennington, another repuls'd with loss and disgrace from Fort Schuyler, and the main Army of Six Thous^d men under Lieu^t Gen^l Burgoyne, after being beaten in different actions and driven from a formidable post and strong entrenchments, reduc'd to the necessity of surrendering themselves upon Terms honourable and advantageous to these States, on the 17th Day of Oct^r last to Major Gen^l Gates, and that a Medal of Gold be struck, under the Direction of the Board of War in Commemoration of this great event, and in the name of these United States, presented by the President to Major Gen^l Gates.

Resolved, That Congress have an high sense of the merit

of L^t Col. Smith and the Officers & men under his command in their late gallant defence of Fort Mifflin, on the River Delaware, and that an elegant Sword be provided by the Board of War, and present^d to L^t Col. Smith.

Resolved: That Congress have an high sense of the Merit of Commodore Hazlewood, the Comm^r of the Naval Force in the River Delaware, in the Service of the Commonwealth of Pens^a, and of the Officers and men under his command, in their late gall^t defence of their Country against the British Fleet, whereby Two of their Men of War were destroy'd and 4 others compell'd to retire, and that an Elegant Sword be provided by the Marine Committees and presented to Commodore Hazlewood.

A Flag will go to the Enemy tomorrow at 10 o'clock in the forenoon.

HEAD QUARTERS WHITEMARSH Nov^r 12th 77.

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow		Greene
Brigadier		Irvine
Field Officers	L ^t Col. Nagle	Major Sterrit
Brigade Major		Minnis

The Hon^{ble} Continental Congress have been pleas'd to pass the following resolve, concerning the Opinion of the Court of Enquirey publish'd in G. O. of the 16th ultimo, relative to Gen^l Sullivan Viz^a:

In Congress Oct^r 20th 1777.

Resolved, That the result of the Court of Enquirey into the Expedition of Staten Island so honorable to the character of Gen^l Sullivan, is highly pleasing to Congress, and that the opinion of the Court be published in justification of the injur'd Character of that officer.

It appears that some Regiments are destitute of necessary Cloathing, altho' they have been supplied with the full Suits allowed by Congress, this must have arisen at least in part from the inattention of the Officers in not taking lists of their Mens necessaries, examining them weekly agreeable to G

O., and calling delinquents to a severe account for what was missing, this under our Circumstances is a neglect of the worst kind and most fatal tendency, and demand a speedy and effectual remedy, and altho' the articles deliver'd the Men beyond the stated allowance be charg'd to them, yet in our situation, this does not lessen the Evil complain'd of. The Comm^r in Chief therefore most seriously and positively requires the Officers Comm^s Companies, after taking exact lists of their mens necessities, to examine them critically once a week, agreeable to the G. O. formerly issued and if any non Comm^d Officer or Soldier shall sell, willfully destroy or carelessly lose any of his necessities, he is to be severely punish'd, at the Discretion of a Court Martial. This is a matter of so very important a nature, the Comm^r in Chief expects the Officers will pay the most exact attention to it, and that the G. O. and others Commanding Brigades, will see this order carefully and regularly Complied with. It appears also that many man who go into Hospitals well clad are in a manner naked when they get well, and Cannot return to their Regimt^s till they are new Cloathed. To prevent a continuance of this evil, & that the guilty may be known and punish'd, No men are henceforward to be sent to the Hospitals without lists of the Company & reg^{ts} they belong to, and of every article of their Cloathing; these lists to be sign'd by the Cap^{ts} or Officers Commanding those Companies, & transmitted to the Surgeons of the Hospitals to which the sick are sent, and if any Men are sent to the Hospitals without lists, the officers sending them shall be punish'd for their neglect, at the discretion of a Gen^l Court Martial and for this end, the surgeons of the Hospitals are as soon as possible to send a report of such Officers to the Adj^t Gen^l and that the arms & accoutrements of the Sick may not be lost or damaged, they are agreeable to the G. Orders lately issued, to be deliver'd to the Reg^l Q^r Masters and by them without delay to the Commiss^y of Military Stores, and never carried with the sick to the Hospitals.

There will be a discharge of musketry this afternoon at

4 o'clock at the Burial of an Officer of Gen^l Maxwell's Brigade.

The Flag which was to have gone in to-day will set off tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock, from the Quarters of the Commissary's Gen^l of Prisoners.

HEAD QUARTERS November 13th 1777.

Major Gen ^l for tomorrow	Lord Sterling
Brigadier	Woodford
Field Officers Lieutenant Col ^s Linley Lt. Col. Bearly	
Brigade Major	Hitchcock

HEAD QUARTERS November the 14th 1777

Major General tomorrow	Greene
Brigadier	Maxwell
Field Officers L ^t Colonel Barber Major Miller	
Brigade Major	Mullens

The Brigadiers & officers Commanding Brigades who have not compleated their clothing Returns according to the Gen^l Orders of the 9th Instant, are to do it without the smallest delays and all the Brigadiers & Officers Commanding Brigades are to meet together tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock at Gen^l Huntingtons Quarters to compare the wants of their Brigades & agree on the manner which the clothes shall be distributed. The wants of Col.^o Morgan's Rifle Corps & others not Included in the Brigade Returns, are to be in like manner considered. Mr. Themper, the Deputy Cloathier Gen^l, is to attend the meeting & take the Direction of the Board for the Present & future Distributions. A considerable Quantity of Clothing being on hand it is of the Highest Importance that this Order be executed with the Greatest Punctuality.

An Officer of the North Carolina Brigade is to be Buried this Evening at 4 o'clock, with Military Honours.

The Court of Enquirey held the 11th Instant, where of Col. Bradley was President, relative to the Complaint of Mr. Joseph Chambers late Commissary to Gen^l Greens Division,

ags^t Col. Josiah Parker for Ordering a Serg^t & file of Men to Whip said Chambers, Have made the following Report. Viz^t: As Colonel Parker Owns the fact, the Court after Hearing the Evidences Produced by him in his Defence, are unanimously of Oppinion that how Negligent the Commissary might have been in the Discharge of the Duty of his Department, yet Col^o Parker was by no means Warranted to Inflict Private Punishment upon him, that the Punishment was Illegal & his Conduct highly Reprehensible as being subversive of good Order & Regulation.

HEAD QUARTERS November the 15th 1777

Major Gen ^l Tomorrow	. . .	Lord Sterling
Brigadier		Wayne
Field Officers L ^t Colo. Gray		Major Slaughter
Brigade Major		Alden

Henceforward & untill further Orders, the sick are to be sent to Buckingham Meet^s House with a suitable Number of Orderly Men to attend them. The Troops are to be Immediately supply'd with two Days Provision (Exclusive of this Day) one of which at least is to be Cooked. No Officer or Soldier to be absent from Camp, but ready for Duty at a Minutes Warning, no Scouting Party on any Pretence whatsoever unless sent for that Purpose is to seize Horses, Cattle or other Property belonging to the Inhabitants under the Plea of taking those things within the Enemy's Lines; great & Enormous abuses are Committed; an Infringm^t thereof or Disobedience of this Order in Either Officer or Soldier, will be punished with the utmost Rigour. Complaint has been made of the Irregularity in Point of Time with which the Horse Mount Guard. The Commd^r In Chief expects they will Parade with more Punctuality in future, he also desires the Colonels of those Regiments that have more Horses than Men, wou'd furnish by way of Loan the others that are in want of Horses that as many Men as Possible may be mounted & the Publick not unnecessarily Burthened.

HEAD QUARTERS Nov' 16th 1777.

Major Gen^l tomorrow . . . Green
 Brigadier Smallwood
 Field Officers Col^o Febiger Major Scull
 Brigade Major Parker

As large Quantitys of Material for Cartridges have been issued & few Cartridges Return'd to the Commissary of Military Stores Returns are to be made Tomorrow afternoon by each Brigade of the Number of Cartridges in their Possession these returns are to shew the Number in Each Regiment & how Many are in hands of the Soldiers & the Residue where Deposited.

HEAD QUARTERS November the 17th 1777.

Major Gen^l Tomorrow . . . L^d Sterling
 Brigadier Scott
 Brigade Major Scott's Brigade.

Some officers remaining yet untried & many Prisoners yet in the Provost Brigade Court Martials are to be held for Trying them without Delay. No Pass is to be Given to any one to go into Philadelphia but by the Major gen^l of the Day who will not Grant them without Due Examination & upon y^e most Reasonable & Necessary Occasions, at the Request of Col^o Price a Court of Enquirey into his Conduct on Sundry Occasions is to sit Tomorrow Morning at 10 o'clock at the Tavern next to Col^o Biddle's Quarters, all Persons who have any Complaints or Objections to make Against him, or know anything Amiss in his Past conduct, are Desired to Appear & Declare the same before the said Court.

HEADQUARTERS November 18th 1777.

Major Gen^l Tomorrow Green
 Brigadier Irvine
 Field Officers L^t Col. Patton N^o Carolina Major Vaughan
 Brigadier Major Stoddard

The government of the state of Penn^a having appointed Commissioners in Each Country thereof to Collect Blankets & Cloathing for the Army all Officers sent round in the State for that purpose are by their Commanding officers to be Called in as soon as Possible a Detachment equal to the Daily Guards are to parade Tomorrow Morning at Half after three o'clock on the Grand Parade with one Days Provisions Cooked. The Brigade Majors will have their Men drawn out at Retreat Beating & see that they are properly fixed for the Duty. Col^o Hall, Lt. Col^o Burr & Major Adams will Command the Detachment. The Remains of the late Capⁿ Foster of the 15th Virginia Reg^t will be Interred this afternoon at 4 o'clock with the Honors of War. Richard Claiborne Esq^r is appointed Brigade Major to Gen^l Weedon's Bridage & is to be Obeyed as such.

HEAD QUARTERS November 19th 1777.

Major Gen ^l Tomorrow	Sullivan
Brigadier	Woodford
Field Officers L ^t Col ^o . Woodford Major West	
Brigade Major	Williams.

The Penn^a Field Officers are Desired to Bring in their Old Commissions & Receive New Ones All Gen^l Officers are desired to assemble tomorrow Morning at 10 o'clock at Gen^l Huntingtons Quarters in order to Settle the Rank of the Field Officers of Horse who are to attend this Board of Gen^l Officers & Exhibit their Respective Claims. All arms unfit for Service which are deposited in the sev^l Regiments & Corps are to be sent to the Comm^{ry} of Military Stores who will send them to be Repair'd.

HEAD QUARTERS Nov^r 20th 1777.

Major Gen ^l Tomorrow	L ^t Sterling
Brigadier	Maxwell
Field Officer L ^t Col ^o Richardson Major Hogg	
Brigade Major	M ^o Gowen

L^t John Marshall is by the Judge Advocate appointed Deputy Judge Advocate In the Army of the United States & is to be Respected as such. James Monroe Esq^r formerly appointed an additional Aid de Camp to Maj^r Gen^l Lord Sterling is now appointed Aid de Camp to his Lord in the Room of Major Welcom Resign'd, & is to be Respected as such. The Clothier Gen^l has Rec^d about 400 Blankets, the sev^l Brigades are to send for their Quota of them. Before the sick are moved Application is always to be made to Doctor Cochran or other Director of the Hospitals for Directions, unless the Places where have been previously pointed out in Gen^l Orders, no more sick are to be sent to Buckingham Meeting House A Serjeant & 12 Orderly Men are to be sent to Buckingham Meeting-house to take care of the sick the Serj^t & these men are to Parade at Dr. Cochrans Quarters at Mr. Wests House at 4 o'clock this afternoon, & apply to him for Orders. A Gen^l Court Martial whereof Maj^r Gen^l Sullivan was Presid^t held on the 3^d Ins^t & Divers other Days to the 17th Ins^t Inclusively for the Tryal of Major Gen^l Stephen Charged with 1st Unofficer like Behaviour on the March from the clove 2^d Unofficer like behaviour in the Actions of Brandiwines & Germantown 3^d Drunkeness. The Court Declare their oppinion that he is Guilty of Unofficer like behaviour in the Retreat from Germantown. Owing to inattention or want of Judgment & that he has been frequently Intoxicated since in the service to the prejudice of Good Order & Military Decipline contrary to the 5th Article of the 107th Section of the Articles of War, therefore Sentence him to be dismissed the service. The Court find him not Guilty of any other Crimes he was charged with & therefore acquit him of all Others Except the Two before mentioned. The Commander in Chief approves the Sentence.

HEAD QUARTERS November 21st 1777.

Major Gen ^l Tomorrow	Sullivan
Brigadier	Wayne
Field Officers . L ^t Col ^o Burr	Major Adams
Brigade Major	Hitchcock

Those Paymasters of Regiments who have drawn Pay for any Officers or Men in Col^o Morgans Rifle & Corps are Immediately to Pay the same Over to the Pay Master of that Corps A Detachment of 80 Men with proper Officers are to Parade this day at 3 o'clock in the afternoon on the Grand Parade. Complaint is made that by the Carlessness of the Butchers the Hides are greatly damaged in taking them off. The issuing Commissarys are enjoined Duly to inspect the Butchers they employ & see that they take off the Hides with proper care. No women coming out of Philadelphia are to be Permitted to pass the first Guards without being they cannot Return again, if upon their informed of this they Chuse to Pass out they are to be allowed to pass the Guards in the Country. The Gen^l of Horse will give this Charge to all the Parties & Patrols of Horse. The Officers of the Day report that continentals from the Picket keep fires by them, this dangerous practice is absolutely forbidden, & all officers of Guards are without Fail to visit their Centinals between every Relief to see that they are alert & keep no fire & in Cold & Bad Weather they are to Relieve the Centinals every Hour. They are also to see that the Centinals are well informed of their Duty & to Instruct such as are Deficient.

HEAD QUARTERS November 22^d 1777

Major Gen ^l Tomorrow	Lord Sterling
Brigadier	Smallwood
Field Officers L ^t Colonel Fort	Major Lockhart
Brigade Major	Barber

The Gen^l Court Martial of the Line of which Col^o was President is to sit tomorrow Morning at 9 o'clock at the House where Gen^l Huntington Quartered for the Trial of all Prisoners which shall be brought before them. An Orderly serj^t from each Brigade is to attend the Court L^t Col^o Heth, L^t Colonel Ricker & Major Mentzes & a Captain from each Brigade are to compose the Members of the Court. All the Gen^l Officers in Camp are desired to meet at Lord Sterlings Quarters Tomorrow Morning at 10 o'clock to settle the Ranks of the Fields Officers of Horse who are to attend and Exhibit their Respective Claims. The Brigade Commanded by Gen^{ls} Patterson & ——— are to form one Division under Major Gen^l the Baron De Kalb. The Horse taken yesterday by Col^o Bopst assisted by a party of Light Horse are to be brought to the Q^r M^r Gen^{ls} & sold at Public Vendue the Produce of the sale is Immediately to be divided by the Q^r M^r Gen^l between the Captors.

After Orders.

The Commd^r in Chief offers a Reward of 10 Dollars to any Person who shall by 9 o'clock on Monday Morning Produce the Best substitute for shoes made out of Raw Hides. The Commissary of Hides is to furnish the Hides & the Major Gen^l of the Day is to Judge of the Essays & assigns the Rewards to the Best artist. Colonel Martin of North Carolina having Resiged his Commission the Oldest now present will Command it. The Troops arrived from the Northward are Immediately to have their Cartouch Boxes filled with Cartridges. The whole Army to have their Amunition in such readiness as to be Completed to 40 Rounds at a Moments warning where they have Wag-gons to keep that Quantity secure from Weather & Officers & Men are to be in camp that they may be ready to Act on the shortest notice.

HEAD QUARTERS November 23^d 1777.

Brigadier Tomorrow . . . Muhlenberg
Field Officer from Gen^l Weedons Brigade
Brigade Major Mennis

An orderly serj^t from each Brigade to attend daily at Head Quarterns the returns ordered Yesterday to be made as soon as Possible the Arms to be put in the Best Order & a Return to be made of the number of Tents now in Possession. Major Gen^l Green has been Pleased to approve the following sentences of a Gen^l Court Martial held the 22^d Instant whereof Col^o Olney was President, Thomas Graves, Michael Ruther & Jacob Anthony charged with desertion was found guilty & sentenced to receive 100 Lashes. The Commanding officer of Regiments to which the Persons belong are to cause the above sentences to be put in Immediate Execution.

HEAD QUARTERS NOV. 24th 1777.

Brigadier Tomorrow . . . Weedon
Field Officers from Varnums
Brigade Major Claiborne

Maj^r Boman is to take the Command of the Artillery & all Returns from the different Companies & from the conductors of military Stores to be made to him a Reserve to the Guards consisting of 100 men properly officer'd under the Command of the Maj^r of the Pickets are to be Posted at the Q^r Meeting House who are to Reinforce & support any of Guards that should at any time be attacked. The returns Ordred the Day before Yesterday to be made immediately. All Officers who have any Continental or Impress'd Horses are to make returns to the Q^r M^r Gen^l. The Detachment of Colonel Foremans Regiment to be added to Gen^l Varnums Brigade. Mr. Ch^s Lyne is appointed to act Principal Commissary for this Department untill one shall be appointed by Col^o Stewart, & the Diff^t Commissarys are

take Notice accordingly. A serjeant from the Gen^l Staff Department is Daily to call at Orderly time at the Deputy A. Gen^{ls} Office that all delays may be avoided as much as Possible & every Order Immediately Executed.

After Orders.

All the Troops to hold themselves in Readiness to march by 7 o'clock Tomorow morning.

HEAD QUARTERS November 25th 1777.

The order of Yesterday for marching at 7 o'clock is countermanded, three Days Provisions is immediately to be Drawn & Cooked & the Troops to hold themselves in Readiness to March on the shortest Notice.

After Orders.

All the spare stores belonging to the Q^r M^r Gen^{ls} departm^t are to be delivered up to the Deputy Q^r M^r Gen^l. The Deputy Comm^y Gen^l of issues is as soon as possible to Inquire into the state of the stores of his Department & take care that a suff^t Quantity of Provⁿ is always in Hand. The Conductor is to make his Returns of the Military Stores in his Possession to Maj^r Boman of the Artillery. Doctor Tenny of Col^o Angels Battalion in Gen^l Varnums Brigade is appointed to act as surgeon Gen^l to this Army untill one shall be properly authorized by D^r Cockran. Returns of the sick are to be made to him & fit Places to be Provided for their Reception. The surgeons are to apply to Dr. Tenny for sulphur for their Regiments. A return of the Bakers in the Army to be made as soon as possible.

The following is the order of Battle Gen^l Varums & Gen^l Huntingtons Brigades form the Right Wings. Gen^l Varnums Brigade on the right of the Wing, Huntingtons on the left. The right Wing to be commanded by Gen^l Varnum. Gen^l Muhlenberg & Gen^l Weedons Brigades form the right of the left Wing. Gen^l Muhlenberg's Brigade the left of the left Wing, & Gen^l Weedons the right of the left

Wing. Gen^l Muhlenberg Commands the left Wing Gen^l Glovers Brigade forms the second line. Col^{os} Haight's & Hathaways Militia form on the Right Flank. Col. Ellis' Militia & Morgans Corps covers the left Flank. In posting the offic^r of the Regiments the officers are to be Posted with their Men without Regard to rank there being great Inconveniency resulting in action by the Officers being removed from their own Men. In marching to Action the Brigades are to March in Regimental Columns. The Officers leading Regimental Columns are to take especial care in advancing that they observe their distance from each other so as to be able to form the Line if necessary a Comp^y to be Detached as an advanced Guard to the Heads of the Columns the reserves to the Wings to March in Columns in the rear of the Centre of each Brigade & to be in readiness to join for the support of either Brigades, or to act separately for the support of the Brigades from which they were Detach'd. The second Line to March in Regimental Columns in the rear of the Centre of the first line about 400 yards ready to support an Part shou'd be hard Pressed. The Artillery to be Immediately under the Direction of the Commanding Officers of the Brigades to March & take Post where they direct the Militia & light Troops are to Endeavour to gain the Flanks of the Enemy, but more Especially to prevent them from gaining ours.

B. O. HEAD QUARTERS November the 26th 1777.

The Tents to be struck, Waggon's Loaded, & the Brigade to be in readiness to March at 10 o'clock. The Waggon Masters to see that the Waggon's be ready to take the Baggage belonging to the Troops.

(To be continued.)

RECORDS OF ST. PAUL'S EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN
CONGREGATION, LEHIGH CO., PENNA., 1750-1764.

Contributed by CLARENCE E. BECKEL.

[St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran congregation, familiarly known as the "Blue Church," was the first of that denomination organized within the present limits of Upper Saucon township, Lehigh county, Pennsylvania. The land on which the present church stands, (the third erected), was warranted to Conrad Walp in January of 1737, and it is claimed that the congregation was organized a few years later. However, in 1745, the Rev. H. M. Muhlenberg was notified that the congregation had erected a church and school-house.]

Marriages.

1750.

May 15, Johann Adam Kuckert and Johanna Elisabetha Laubach, Christian's dau.

Oct. 23, Hans Adam Gramlich and Anna Margaretha (Wid. Stocker).

Dec. 18, Jacob Weber, Friderich Weber's eldest son, and Johanna Margaretha Herbold.

1751.

Jany. 22, George Wilhelm Morri and Maria Barbara (wid. Stieber).

March 19, Johann George Schneider and Francisca (wid. Rösler).

March 21, Johann Mölig and Christina Le Feber, Johannes Le Feber's dau.

June 20, Anthonius Mies and Maria Margaretha Nefe.

Aug. 20, Johann Martin Appell and Maria Catharina Hornecker, Rudolph's dau.

Sept. 18, Johannes Gann and Elizabetha Marsteller.

Nov. 19, Johann Peter Bauer and Catharina (wid. In-dorth).

Dec. 2, George Klein and Prudence Williams.

1752.

- Jan. 14,* Johann Appell and Anna Maria Boger, Martin Boger's dau.
June 30, Johann Michael Gerberich and wid. Gertraut Geiger.
Aug. 4, Johannes Nüchtern and Barbara Pits (Bits).
Sept. 28, Jacob Schaut and Anna Gräf.
Oct. 26, George Herder and Eva Bracker, Christian Bracker's dau.
Nov. 1, Johann Philip Wolff and Maria Piou, John Piou's dau.
Nov. 12, Johann Jacob Baum and Elisabetha Gann widow.
Nov. 12, George Friderich Kratzer and Anna Maria Dörstlinger, Fridrich Dröstlinger's dau.

1753.

- Jan. 9,* Heinrich Brunner and Maria Magdalena Zeller, Philip Henrich Zeller's dau.
March 15, Johann Schäffer and Catharina Muller, Joh. Heinrich Muller's dau.
April 5, Jacob Weber and Magdalena widow Sebold.
Eodem, Jacob Ludwig and Anna Margaretha, wid. Marsteller.
April 7, Daniel Braun and Anna Elisabeth Cervas, Gottfried Cervas' dau.
June 14, George Michael (Heinrich Michael's in Philadelphia) son, and Anna Margaretha Knauss, Ludwig Knauss' dau.
June 18, Jacob Friderich and Anna Rosina Böhman, George Böhman's dau.
Aug. 5, Andreas Erdmann and Anna Margaretha Fridrich.
Aug. 14, Johann Hencke and Catharina Dröstlinger, Fridrich Dörstlinger's dau.
Nov. 13, Johann George Blanck and Eva Elisabetha Steinmetz, Valentine Steinmetz' dau.

1755.

- Conrad Leisenring and Sibilla Veit.
- July 6*, Johann Jacob Rexer and Regina Hartmann,
Peter Hartmann's dau.
- Adam Weiser and Elisabeth Beck, Jürg Beck's
dau. from Blue Mt.
- Peter Christein and Anna Margaretha Grill,
Nicolaus Grill's dau.
- Andreas Diemer and Margaretha Naumann,
Christian Naumann's dau. from Dryland.
- Adam Everts and wid. Anne Marie Teutsch.
- Michael Schmel and Maria Kiliers, from Spring-
field.
- Michael Naregang and Anne Elisabeth Fegele.

1756.

- Heinrich Junghen and Scherer, both of
Nackamixin.
- Hinrich Scherer and Catharina Dorothe Heller.
- March 16*, Johann Meier and wid. Christina Novers.
- March 28*, Jürg Weber and Susanne Weiher, Leonhard
Weiher's dau., from Dryland.
- May 23*, Gottfried Cervas and Ann Sophia Krischer, of
Saucon.
- Nov. 30*, Jacob Engelert and Anne Maria Baier, from
the Blue Mt., of the Reformed Church, at the
home of Tiets.
- Nov. 30*, Hinrich Krämer and Elisabeth Rohn, from Dry-
land.

1757.

- Jan. 11*, Johann Claus and Catharina Rexer.
- Feb. 22*, Jacob Stier and Dorothea Franken, Johann
Adam Francken's dau.
- March 8*, Hinrich Schäffer, of the Ref. Church, in Lower
Saucon, and Elisabeth Hermenn.

- April 14*, Peter Sohns, beyond the Blue Mts., and Anne Maria Raup, Michael Raup's dau.
- April 12*, Johann Zacharias Jahn and Maria Catharina Kreischer.
- April 28*, George Henrich Müller and Maria Magdalena Biber, Theobald Biber's surviving dau. from the Blue Mt.
- May 3*, Johann Ahrenhold Eberhard, from Egypt, and Anne Margreth Weber, Friderich Weber's dau., from Lower Saucon.
- May 10*, Jacob Rawer and Elisabeth Burger.
- June 7*, Borchert Henz and Catharina Nickel.
- June 23*, The Schoolmaster, Peter Kneple and Christina Gangwehr.
- Dec. 13*, Hans Adam Fritschmann and Catharina Elisabeth Meier.
- June 7*, Borchert Henz and Catharina Nickel, (Duplication).

1758.

- Daniel Horlacher and Maria Margretha Brunner, Hinrich Brunner's dau. from Upper Saucon.
- Feb. 21*, Michael Engelhard, a soldier under Capt. Ahrens, and Maria Margretha Koch, Jacob Koch's dau., from Dryland.
- March 28*, Jacob Gangewehr, son of Jacob Gangewehr, the elder, from Upper Saucon, and Maria Eva Schlösser.
- May 4*, Johann Blank and Eva Elisabeth Beil, Balthasar Beil's dau., from Upper Saucon.
- May 9*, Johann Kleintap and Eva Heldenbrandt, from Lehigh Twsp.
- Sept. 8*, George Stolze, widower, and Anne Elisabeth Roth (widow of Jacob Roth, who was killed by the Indians beyond the Blue Mt.)
- Nov. 30*, Widower Adam Blank and Anne Margretha Weiland, Adam Schäfer's widow.

1759.

(The following were married in the Upper Saucon Congregation.)

- Jan. 4,* Johann Jost Walp and Catharina Bair.
Jan. 9, Johann Caspar Gross and Anna Maria Pitz.
Jan. 23, Johann Junghen and Catharina Kilicher.
Jan. 30, Jacob Emmerich and Anna Elisabeth Bech (?).
March 20, Johann Theobald and Christina Rexer.
April 3, Nicolaus Happel and Catharina Stauter, from the Blue Mt.
May 14, George Gärtner and Magdalena Gerhard.
 (This entry was crossed out in ink.)
June 5, Nicolaus Schall, of Bethlehem Twsp., and Margrethe Beck.
June 7, Adam Graff, of Ritschlin Twsp., and Christina Heninger.
July 3, Martin Hausmann and Margretha Stroh, at Michael Dither's house.
Nov. 6, Daniel Kucker and Anne Maria Fuchs, Conrad Fuch's dau.
Nov. 22, Caspar Rumetsch, from the Blue Mt., and Maria Barbara Lawar (?).
Dec. 6, George Peter Possert and Anna Mar. Cathar. Gärter, from beyond the Blue Mt.
Dec. 11, Wilhelm Lawar and Elisabeth Lang.
Dec. 13, Joh. Philip Schütz, Ludew. Schutz' son from Upper Milford, and Elisabeth Margretha Schmidt, Michael Schmidt's dau., from Upper Milford.

1760.

- Feb. 14,* Christopher Kleintap and Maria Anna Heldebrandt, from Lehigh Twsp.
Feb. 26, Johann Oswalt and Maria Barbara Schantz.
April 10, Johann George Schäfer and Maria Elisabeth Götz.

- Aug. 19*, Philip Wagner and the widow Regina Brenning.
Sept. 4, Ludewig Thani and the widow Catharina Heisch.
Sept. 18, Johann Appel, the elder, and the widow Magdalena Bernert.
Oct. 14, Jacob Cerving and Anna Margretha Bildhaus, Jacob Bildhaus' widow.
April 29, Johann Muller, from Sopus, and Dorothea Margretha Barthold.
Nov. 2, Solomon Thebi and Dorothea Sonstet, from Dryland.
Nov. 4, Caspar Dorn and Verona Hauser, from Plainfield.

1761.

- Johann Weber, widower, and Luise Zion, Carl Zion's widow.
Dec. 29, Adam Stecher and Margrethe Rumfeld.

1762.

- Feb. 9*, Peter Frank and Margretha Schmidt.
May 18, Jacob Kepler and Maria Christina Kirschener.
Oct. 4, Johann Beuteler and Clara Reinhardt, Joh. Peter Reinhardt's widow.

1763.

- July 25*, Wilhelm Silckert and Elisabeth Schaffer.
Nov. 22, Johann Nicolaus and Anna Maria Werles.

Deaths.

1750.

- Jan. 6*, Matthias Otto, aged 66 years and 6 mos. Bd. Jan. 6th.
Jan. 27, George Erlebach. Ref., (Johann George Marsteller's father-in-law), aged about 89 years. Bd. Jan 29th.
March 19, Maria Kerschner, George Kerschner's dau., aged 6 mos., and 19 das. Bd. March 21st.

April 3, Esther Baseler, Friedrich Baseler's wife, aged 26 yrs. and some days. Bd. April 4th.

June 20, Abraham Erdmann, Johann Juhtg Erdmann's son, aged 17 wks. and some days. Bd. June 22nd.

1751.

July 11, Wilhelm Keck, Henrich Keck's son, aged 14 das. Bd. July 12th.

July 21, Regina, wife of Johann Gan, aged 39 yrs. and 5 wks. and 6 days. Bd. July 22nd.

August 7, Kilian Indorht, aged about 33 yrs. Bd. Aug. 8th.

Aug. 8, Joh. Jacob Beutelmann, born Aug. 7, 1720. Bd. on his own land Aug. 10th.

Oct. 19, Joh. George Marsteller, born 1695. Bd. Oct. 21st.

1752.

Feb. 10, Anna Maria, wife of Henrich Brunner, born Sept. 1716. Bd. Feb. 12th.

Feb. 16, Johann Philip, Henrich Brunner's son. Bd. Feb. 17th.

Feb. 21, Barbara, wife of Johann Nicolaus Kauer. Bd. Feb. 22nd in the cemetary in the Schmaltzgaffe.

July 10, Gerhard Heumacher, Christopher Heumacher's son. Bd. July 11th in the Schmaltzgaffe.

Nov. 23, Maria Barbara, dau. of Andreas Windt, aged 3 yrs. 15 wks. and 6 das. Bd. Nov. 24th.

Nov. 25, Eva Christina, Jacob Weber's wife, aged 52 yrs. Bd. Nov. 27th.

1753.

Jan. 6, Anna Dorothea, wife of Andreas Erdmann, aged 26 yrs. and 3 mos. Bd. Jan. 8th.

Feb. 21, Johann Jacob Erdmann, son of Jacob Erdmann, born March 14, 1750. Bd. Feb. 22nd.

- April 1*, Johann Heinrich, son of Michael Seyder, born May 4, 1750, and died March 31st, 1753.
July 8, Susanna Seyder, aged 80 yrs. Bd. July 9th.

1756.

- Aug. 13*, Anna Maria Birkenstock, widow of our pastor Johann Justus Birkenstock, and bd. on her own place Aug. 15th.

1757.

- Bd. Feb. 27*, Abraham Dannehauer's son Andreas.
March 2, Andreas Windt's dau. Anna Regina Catharina buried, aged 1 yr. and 11 mos.
. . . . Joh. Peter Reinhardt's son buried.
May 5, Wilhelm Lohren youngest daughter Anna Barbara buried. Died May 3rd in her third year.
Buried Peter Bauer, on the Upper Saucon Cemetary.
July 25, He was killed accidentally on July 23rd by being kicked by his horse.
Sept. 6, Gottlieb Dorngläser's son Paulus buried.

1758.

- July 31*, Friderick Kratzer's daughter Anna Margretha buried, aged 1 yr. 7 mos. and 3 wks.
Aug. 8, Peter Hartman's son Philip buried.
Aug. 16, P. Hartman's daughter aged about 6 yrs.
Aug. 22, a daughter of the same buried without a preacher.
Aug. 22, Anna Margretha, wife of Friderich Dörstlinger buried.
The same day the widow Schneider.
Sept. 8, Hinrich Brunner's son Johann George, aged 3 yrs. buried.
May 15, Johann Martin Held buried, aged 18 yrs.
May 21, Johann Appel, the elder's wife, buried aged 59 yrs.

1760.

- March 20*, Christopher Herpel's wife buried, aged 39 yrs.
April 30, Maria Elisabetha, George Christoph Heller's
dau. buried, aged 5 yrs. and 1 mo.
Oct. 30, Anna Catharina Erdmann buried, aged 78 yrs.
Dec. 10, Sarah, wife of Johann Weber buried.

1764.

- Jan. 1*, John Peter, son of George Reiner, buried, aged
3 yrs. 11 mos. 1 week and 3 das.
Jan. 5, a son of Henrich Heiser named Felix, buried
aged 2 yrs. and 6 wks.
Jan. 7, Johann Peter Hittel buried in Upper Milford,
aged 43 yrs. 11 mos. and 5 das.
Feb. 29, . . . Helferich buried, of Upper Milford, aged
75 yrs.
March 12, Maria Sara Raub, of Upper Saucon, bd., aged 73
yrs., 9 mos.
March 21, Jacob, son of Jacob Draub buried, aged 3 yrs.
less 1 day. Died of smallpox.
March 26, son of Francisco Wesgo, aged 6 yrs. 10 mos.
and 5 ds. Died of convulsions.
April 2, Jacob, son of Jacob Mory, of Upper Saucon,
buried, aged 5 yrs. 5 mos. and 4 ds.

Communicant Members, May 1750.

Jacob Gangewehr
Andreas Raup
Catharina Marsteller
Maria Catharina Dörfflinger
Anna Christina Merckert.
Johann Helffrich, wife Anna Maria, son Johann Michael
Johannes Rahn, wf. Anna.
Christian Raub, wf. Barbara.
Martin Köhler, wf. Francisca

- Henrich Brunner, wf. Anna Maria, Servants Franz Ziege-
ler, Anna Maria Schlagehaup, Philip Nolff.
Anna Margaretha Stocker
Peter Merckert, wf. Christina Margaretha, son Johann
Philip, dau. Rosina Catharina wf. Dieley.
Augusta Catharina Margaretha Indorff.
Maria Clara Velt, servant to Steinmetz.
Johann Jacob Reich, servant to Tobias Baal.
Jacob Stier, servant to Valentin Buchecker.
Johann Schäffer, servant to Caspar Strom.
George Sigmann, wf. Barbara, bro. Leonhard Sigmann.
George Bassel, wf. Maria Juliana.
Henrich Rumfeld, wf. Barbara.
Friedrich Weber, wf. Catharina, son Jacob, dau. Catharina.
Johann Caspar Brenner, wf. Appalonia.
Valentin Reinhard, wf. Barbara.
Henrich Gerner, servant to Jacob Bachman.
Wilhelm Franck, servant to George Bachman.
Johann Conrad Leisering, servant to old George Bach-
man.
Matthias Oldt, son of Magdalena Elisabeth.
Anna Maria Mack, wf. of Valentin, Refd.
Johann George Marsteller, wf. Anna Margretha, dau.
Elisabeth.
Abraham Dannerhauer, wf. Anna Catharina.
Johann Jacob Kerschner, wf. Anna Margaretha.
Anna Catharina Erdmann, wf. of Johannes Erdmann.
Maria Catharina, widow Walp.
Johann Appell, wf. Elisabeth Catharina, sons Johann
Martin and Johann.
Melchior Steeser, wf. Eva Christina.
Friedrich Dörstlinger, wf. Anna Margaretha, dau. Anna
Maria.
Jacob Gangewehr, son Christopher.
Michael Seyder, wf. Eva Dorothea, mother Susanna.
Philipp Trapp, wf. Friderica Dorothea.
Andreas Erdmann, wf. Dorothea.

Johann George Reinhard, wf. Maria Barbara.

Valentin Steinmetz, wf. Anna Elisabetha.

Balthaser Beil, wf. Elisabetha, servant Johann Henrich Rahn.

Henrich Keck.

Andreas Hertz, wf. Anna Catharina.

George Hiller.

Peter Schilp, wf. Catharina.

Michael Moser, wf. Elisabetha.

Ludwig Zimmermann, wf. Margaretha.

Martin Schneider, wf.

Stephan Meisch, servant at Kratzers, wf. Esophronica.

Catharina Dorothea Scherffenstein, widow.

Maria Bischof.

Anna Maria, maid at Stallneckers.

Maria Catharina Ritschi, Jacob's wife.

Bastian Beisch, wf. Benico Catharina.

Jacob Weber, wf. Elisabeth.

Philipp Peter Franckenfeld.

Anna Margaretha, Nicolaus Frantz' wife.

Ludwig Kistner, servant to Friedrich Weber.

Michael Schmidt, wf. Abba Barbara.

Christian Breutzer, wf. Anna Ursula.

Jacob Saxer.

Johann Löffler, wf. Catharina.

Elias Beutelmann, wf. Anna Maria.

Philip Raup, wf. Maria Sara; servant Anna Barbara Sturm.

Nicolaus Mersch.

Peter Klein.

Johann George Schumacher, wf. Catharina.

Valentin Uhler.

Adam Vehler.

WILLIAM PENN'S ACCOUNT
WITH
SAMUEL JENNINGS, RECEIVER GENERAL,
1690-1693.

[The following account of payments made by Samuel Jennings, Receiver General of Pennsylvania for William Penn, contain many items of interest. We are indebted to the Archive Department of the State Library at Harrisburg, Penna., for the copy made from the original.]

	£	s.	d.
To Derirk & Claus Jonson for a canoe had from them formerly as pr. ac't	1	4	
To Ben Holt for work done at Pensberry		5	
To Bernard Devonigh in ple for heanes sold by him to Saml Hergent as pr. acct	2	9	9
To Jos. English the contents of a bill due to Mr. Hatton	6		
To 1 bbl. of molasses to Pensberry	2	2	
To 1 bbl. of pork	2	17	6
To Wm. Howell pr. John Bevan		11	
<i>4 mo.</i>			
To 1 pr. shoes for the negro		6	
To Tho. Fitzwater for work done at the mill	6		
<i>5 mo.</i>			
To Richard Wilson	1	15	
To James Williams		1	6
To David Lloyd for attachmt agt			
Edmundsons goods		1	6

	£	s.	d.
To John White a retaining fee		12	
To Saml King for a Rent Roll of Kent County		6	
To John Gilbert freight of		1	
To 4½ gallons of rum to Pensberry		18	
To 3½ yds. blew linnen		7	7
To 23 lb of nails att 15 p ^{lb}	1	8	9
To powder 1lb 3 ^s 1 ^d p ^d Pap. & Ink 2 ^s 6 ^d		5	7
To lb of powdered 36½ lb att		9	1½
To annoseedwater		1	4
To Rum 4 gallons		16	
To " 1 bbl.	1	15	
To Thomas Revell	3	13	
To David Powell for driving Cattle	1		
To James Taylor for work done at Pens- berry		5	
To ditto ~~ph~~ John Phily	1	9	
To Thomas Grove for his journey to York when he went for Capt. Mark- ham's ~~ph~~ Rrt.	2	4	
To suger powder & shot to Pensberry		4	2
To Expense for boate hire to bring John Phily to Pensberry &c.		12	9
To James Delaplane for freight of 106 bus. of whate	1	6	
To John King for a deckt Shallop	30		

7 mo.

To the Indians fr. Eerror of Commis- sioners			
68 yds. duffalls att 5 ^s 6 ^d ~~ph~~ yd	18	14	
5 yds. broad Cloth att 10 ^s	2	10	
14 yds. Kersey at 6 ^s	4	4	
2½ yds. broad Cloth at 25 ^s ~~ph~~ yd.	3	2	6
4 yds. bremy att	1	2	
1 blew shirt		7	6

	£	s.	d.
19½ yds. linnen att 2/2	2	2	3
10 yds. blew linen att 22 ^d		28	4
Silk & buttons		4	7½
To Renlets 3 ^s 6 gall. mollasses 10 ^s		13	
To 300 lb of Tobacco	2		
To Arthur Cook for Goods to the Indians	6	8	
To a small boat to follow the Shallop		10	
To Joseph Stearns for making servants Clothes		12	
To Wm. Stearn for a rudder iron for Shallop		4	
To James Walliams ~~3~~ of the Charge for recovering a forfeiture	1	14	
To ditto for Custome of suger	1		
To James Tayler for work done at Pens- berry		17	
To molasses for Pensberry 5 gallon		8	4
To 1 pr. shooes for old Phily 6 ^s		7	8
To Rum 2 gallon		8	6
To salt 1 bushell		4	
To powder ½ lb 18 ^d To horse hire for Tho. Grove to York 12 ^s		13	6
To Expenses in going through the three lower Countys to get suit Rents & set- tle acct's	5	6	9

1—20 9 mo.

To Joseph Adams for work done at Pensberry		9	
To John Gilbert		2	
To Cotton byrds att.		18	
To nails 5 lb att.		5	4
To kersey 3½ yds. att. 7 ^s	1	4	6
To broad flanel 2½ yds.		7	6
To 3 skins att.	1	3	
To 6 doz. buttons		3	9

	£	s.	d.
To silk & thread 3 ^s & blew linnen 6 ^s 6 ^d .		10	
To linnen 3½ yds. at 2 ^s		7	
To molasses to Pensberry 32 gal. att. 18 ^d			
Ⓕ g.	2	8	
To a new b'r'l.		3	6
To James West for repairing the Shutters	3	11	1
To linnen & cotton 3 ^s yd. silk 18 ^d . . .		5	1

10—10 mo.

To freight of 10 bbls. of beef to be ship at Chester		6	
To the widow boyer Ⓕ order of the Commissioners	4	11	11
To Tho. Budd on Rich. Guys ac ^{tt} as Ⓕ Rec't	9	2	
To Joseph Wilson as Ⓕ Rec't. for Car- riage	8	4	9
To Philip Howell for shoes to Pensberry, formerly by John Lust	4	4	9
To Wm. Snowden for haleing timber to the mill	1		

13—12 mo.

To Henry Williams for rent of a house Capt. Markham had of him at N. Castle	6	10	
To Nathaniel Lukin		12	
To Jacob Turner Ⓕ order of Com. as Ⓕ Rec't.	18		
To Willm. Biles for work done by Tho. Hodson's servants as Ⓕ Rec't.	1	16	

1 mo.

To Wm. Biles the ballance of his acc ^{tt} as Ⓕ Rec't.	22	2	9
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	£	s.	d.
To Jos. Wood in pl'e of what was due to his father at p^{d} Rec't.	5		
To John Bartley for surveying land in East Jersey	5	2	
To Mary Bradshaw p^{d} order of Governor	5		
To taking up & Cutting a stray horse .	10		
To expenses in the County of Chester p^{d} three journeys with the Sheriffe & de- fending a suit ag't. Rob. Swer & adjust- ing Acc ^{ts} & my rents	3	1	9

2 mo.

To Bartho. Striet p^{d} order of Capt Markham		4	
To Pensberry 1 brl: of beefe	2	5	
To molasses 10 gal.	1		
To sugar 12 att.		4	
To nails 20 lb att. 14 ^d	1	3	4
To nails large 5 lb att		5	
To powder 1 lb shot 4 lb att		5	
To salt 1 bu. att		5	
To 1 pr. hose		5	
To Pensbery 1 quire pap.		1	
To blew lin. 7½ yds. 22 ^d		13	9
To 7½ yds. white ditto 2/2		16	3
To Rum 4 gallons 1 qt.		17	
To John Phily		6	
To expenses myself a man & 2 horses neare a month in the lower Countys .	5	7	9
To Dan Raton for boat hire in Thomas Fitzwater's time		8	
To Ephraim Jackson for work formerly done at Pensberry	2	10	
To driving of Cattle from Lewis	7	10	
To Forriage & pasturidg. on the roads .	2		

5 mo.

	£	s.	d.
To John Parsons bill	2	5	
To Tamina the Indian 6 guns instead of 9 they being better than ordinary	9		
To 8 match Coates	4		
To 10 duch. blankets	9		
To 10 kettles	3		
To bread, beare, &c.		6	
To Bartholomew Coppork		7	6
To Jenkin Lewis for work at millas p acct.	4	1	1
To Tho. Williams for paleing garden & orchard as p acct ^t	15	1	
To Pensberry 28 gal. molasses	2	11	4
To 10 gall. of Rum	1	15	
To 1 bu. of salt		5	
To 1 brl. of pork	2	15	
To blew lin.		4	2
To 1 coil rope		4	6

1692

8.—4 mo.

To freight of sundrys to Pensberry	5		
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5 mo.

To Edward Hunlock as p Rec't.	4	4	7
To Dennis Rorkford for driving Cattle	4		
To Saml. King for ditto	2	17	
To John Rodman p John Adams for mollasses formerly had	3	10	
To John Cook for a bull	3		
To Wm. Storkdale p order of Com for improvements on a plantation of the governor in New Castle County	28		

	£	s.	d.
To Mary Boaks that was due to her husband in his life	3	10	
To Ellin Hawkins for work done by her husband at Pensberry formerly . . .		13	6
To Saml. Harriot freight		6	
To Josuah Carpenter p abate ^m t of his fine	5		
To 1 lb of nails for the boat		1	
To Charles Pirkring		18	
To nails 30 lb of nails	1	10	
To John Chandler as p Rec't.	2	1	
To the Indians, Rum, bread p order of Com ^e		12	
To freight of 25 bus. of Indian Corn		8	4
To nails 12 lb 10 lb. mill		12	
To wheat for Pensberry from John Clark 8 bushels	1	12	
To Smith work		5	3
To Phinehas Pemberton the ballance of James Harrisons acc ^{tt} p ordr of Com ^{ers}	106	3	
To oates 7 bus. att.		14	
To expenses in going twice to the County of Bucks to the rents	1	4	
To County of Chester ditto	1	10	9
To Edward Blake on acc ^{tt} of Frederick Philips	3	18	
To Pensberry a cheese	2	4	

1693

14.—1 mo.

To 3 yds. sacking	6		
To 4 yds. blew linnen	6	8	
To pep & pemeta	1	2	

	£	s.	d.
To lb of sugar		3	6
To oat meale & ginger		1	4
To 2 bus. of ground malt		9	
To Rum 1½ gallon		7	6
To 6 bus. of Indian Corn		15	
To malt		18	6
To Tho. Murla for work done about the house in Philadelphia		18	9
To Wm. Balenger for his share of freight	3	13	3
To Wm. Bradford on acc ^t of Jon. Clark	1	4	7
To Wm. Crosdel p order of Wm. Mark- ham	1	10	
To Wm. Crosdell for bringing in horses &c.	1	10	
To Ira Rossill for Cutting nine Colts .	1	7	
To Denis Rothford the ballance of his acc ^t as p Rec ^t	9	12	6
To driving and butchering of Cattle from Pensberry to Philadelphia .	1	10	
To Tho. Marle p order of W. Mark- ham	1	10	
To Pensberry rum & sugar		14	6
To 4 yds. of Cloth	1	8	
To 9½ yds. of Cotton	1	8	6
To thread, soap, & oatmeale		1	10
To powder & lead		2	6
To nails		2	
To Oren bros. 11 yds. at 18 ^d		16	6
To hose & thread		4	9
To flanel & powder		4	3
To James Adkinson p order from the Commiss ^{ers}	21	14	4
To Wm. Sneade		6	
To Tho. Cross	1	2	

2 mo.

	£	s.	d.
To John Goodson 6 yrs. salary at 10 bus. of wheat p Acct. ending 13^{th} $\frac{3}{4}$ mo.	12		
next at 4s. as p Rec't.			
To John Barclay surveying land in East Jersey as p Rec't.	18	7	3

1693

To John Calow for work done at Pens- berry	18		
To Lyonel Brittan	16		
To George Hoatzroate seed Corn at Pensberry	18		
To Israel Taylor p order of the Com ^r for cureing negro Jack legg . . .	4	10	
To Roger Parke for Cureing negro Sam	9	9	
To John Wells the Corroner & Jury 1 fees on a man that hanged himself at Jos. Hylers	18		3
To John Martin Cash he formerly layd out at Pensberry	5	10	9

16—2 mo.

To Tho. Pert for work.	4		4
To 2 horse Collars	9		
To pasturing & a months feeding the horse sold Fra Jones	1	10	
To John Phily as p Rect.	2	10	
To Wm. Balenger towards his share of freight as p Rect.	2		
To Jacob Dubro for his p ^t of a stray horse	1	10	
To Nicholas Waln for a mare . . .	5		
To Tho. Hardin for a mare . . .	4	10	
To Rich. Waln for a mare	5		

	£	s.	d.
To Authur Cooke in p'l'e of a bill due in James Roades time as p Rect. .	20		
To John Chanler for money he disburst for the use of Pensberry's family .	3	7	11
To ditto for $7\frac{1}{2}$ bus. whate as p acctt. .	1	10	

7—9 mo.

To Tho. Gordon secretary of East Jersey about the lands there taken up as p Rect.	5	8	5
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10 mo.

To ditto for a patent as p Rect	1	17	8
To Ben Chambers on the society's acctt. p Rect.	39	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$
To ditto on his own acct ^t as p Rect. . .	10	12	$4\frac{1}{2}$
To ditto the full ballance of his acct p Rect	1	13	8
To 10 galls. molasses to Pensberry . .	1	2	6
To Rum 3 galls.		13	6
To oat meale & sugar		7	2
To spice 3 ^s 2 ^d —powder & shot. 5 ^s 7 ^d .		8	9
To wolen cloth 6 yds.	1	4	
To blew linen 7 yds.		10	6

1693

To Cotton $3\frac{1}{4}$ yds. att.	10		
To thread & shot	2	9	
To Wm. Biddle for sundries to Pens- berry p Jos. Mitter		3	10
To David Lloyd for 10 yds. of match Coate formerly had for the Indians p L. Cock	3		

	£	s.	d.
To Tho. Zenner about looking after mines	5		
To expenses in the lower Countys . .	5	9	5
To Jos. Wilcox for Cordage	5	9	5
To Tho. Marsh at Salem for repair of banks, &c.	11	8	
To Fra Davenport on acct. of Jon. Horne	11	15	
To 3½ years sallery at 50£ ꝑ Ann .	175		
To Cows, Calves, &ca. in all 24 head of Cattle from Sussex County sent to Pensberry	39	14	
To suit, rents in the County of Bucks. pd. in at Pensberry expressed there the plit'ulers whereof may soon be on the Credit side of this acc ^{tt} .	39	11	11
To John Blackwell ꝑ Robt. Turner .		2	
To Ben Chambers in his defense of him- self agt. pickring in Edmondson's Case as ꝑ Rec't.		15	
To Andrew Griscome ꝑ order of the Comm ^r for surveying & measuring the new buildings at Pensberry . . .	3		
To Jenkin Lewis		8	7
To Tho. Lloyd & Rich. Hilliards . .	1	16	
To Cash pd. Saml. Oldale in pl'e of a fatt Cow bought of him for the gov- erner ꝑ J Swafer	2		
To Robt. Turner 3 years sallery as Comm ^r	6		
To Jos. Walker for his wife's service formerly at Pensberry		13	
To James Fox for serge due to him as ꝑ James Harrison's booke	1	7	6
To Anthony Burges ꝑ Fra Rawles in Rent for work formerly done at Pens. as ꝑ Rec't.	3	9	2

	£	s.	d.
To John Barns Sussex by discount	1	12	
To Wm. Yardley Collecting Rents in Bucks County as ⁹ / ₁₀ acc ^{tt}	16	2	
To fees for surveying a ship		3	8
To Ben Chambers for collecting the rents $\frac{1}{10}$ of the whole being 224£ 10s. 2d.	22	8	6
To widow Boyer the ballance of her acc ^{tt}		15	7
To Geo. Foreman for Collecting the rents in Chester County	9	13	
To Saml. King Collecting rents in Kent County being 128-0-9	12	16	
To Edward Gibbs Collecting rents in N. Castle County 167-7-9 $\frac{1}{2}$	16	15	6
To Saml. Preston Collecting rents Sussex County amounting to £132-9s-2d	13	4	11
	<u>1163</u>	<u>07</u>	<u>8</u>

TOWN DOCKETS OF
CHESTERFIELD TOWNSHIP, BURLINGTON COUNTY,
NEW JERSEY,

December 15, 1692 to December 2, 1712.

(Original in the Congressional Library.)

BY DR. CARLOS E. GODFREY,

Trenton, N. J.

the 15th of y^o : 12 m^o 1692

this Day the Inhabitants of this townshp of Chesterfield
Being met together About Chuseing A Constable & other
Busnes Belonging to y^o town first wee doo Agree to nome-
nate those persons that have Allredy served the office of A
Constable Before this present year which are as folloeth

Thomas Wood
Thomas folkes
Robert Willson
Thomas ffarnsworth
Edward Rockhill
Will^{im} Black

And ffor this year insuing wee doo Agree to Chouse Daniell
Bacon Constable & thomas ffolke oversear of y^o highways

Att A town meeting held by the Inhabitants of Chester-
field this 12th day of y^o : 12 : m^o 1693—then was Chosan
William Wood Constable for the year Insuing & Samuel
taylor oversear of y^o highways— Att this towns meting
wee have Considered & Agreed to bind ourselves in y^o sum of
3^s which wee doo promes to pay if wee neglect to Apear
Att our towns metting after A Lawfull sumons by the Con-
stable or his order & for to Conferm the s^d Agreement wee
have subscribed our name

(2) pearsons subscrib to y^e afores^d agrement

ffrancis Davenport	Andrew Smith
Matthew Watson	Robert Willson
Edward Rockhill	John Chester
Will ^{im} Wood	John Warin
thomas Wood	Marmeduk horsman
Henary Beack	Charls Woulbuertan
Samuell taylor	Charls Mellard
Matthew grane x	Caleb Whetly
thomas Scoly	Matthew fursyth
Will ^{im} Black	John Cleayton
thomas ffolke	Recempence Kerby
John More	John Black
John Thorn	Thomas Willson
Allen x	Joseph Scattergood
John Bacon	John ffansworth
John Bullock	Asher Cleayton
Will ^{im} Shaterthewit	Thomas Wright
Joseph Burch	Jonathan Wright
Robert Chapman	Robert Wright
Roger Park	Samuel farnsworth
Richard harison	Joseph Myers
Samuel Buntane	Joseph Nickilson
John Buntane	Benjaman Wright

Nathanill field

the 2^d: Day: of y^e: furst m^o 169³/₄

Att A towns Metting by the Inhabetants of Chesterfield
Danill Bacon this day gave in his A Counte Concerning y^e
office of A Constable & there is fond to bee in his hands
of stock 01^{lb}: 11^s: 3. Itt is Also Agred to pay to ffrancis
Davenport the sum of 01^{lb}: 18^s.—for money hee has allreddy
Layd out of his own for wolves to the Indians: which he
of Daniell Bacon now R^d 01^{lb}: 1^s: 3^d

& of Will Wood 00 06 9

overseare that have Allreddy served for this township

John Buntan	Samuell Buntan	Samuell Tayler
thomas folk	John Bambreg	

(3) Att A towns metting held by the Inhabetants of Chesterfield this 13th: Day of y^e: 12th: m^o 1694 then John Buntan Was Chosan Constable for y^e year insuing & Andrew Smith Chosan oversear of the heighway—Will^{im} Wood Brought in his Account & thare Remane in his hands 2^{lb}: 3^s: 3^d—which is to bee payd to John Buntan

Att A towns metting held by the Inhabetants of Chesterfield this 15th Day of y^e 11: m^o 1695: the Inhabetants being sumond by the Constable are met together in pursuance of A warant dericted to the Constable to Consult about Raseing a tax of 100^{lb} to Buld a bridg over the Crek at Lasy pint & have made Asesment & have chosan Edward Rockhill & Daniell Bacon to Lay y^e asesment & Matthew Watson Collecttor to geather itt—thare was An order of Cort presented to se About Cheusing out men to Lay out A New Rode between the fales & Burlington & wee doo also agree & Cheuse men with y^e oversear acordingly to doo itt whou are as folloeth

Will^{im} Black

ffrances Davenport

Marmeduk horsman

Matthew Grane

Will^{im} Wood

thomas ffolke

John Warin

Samuell Buntan

thomas ffolke whou was hiared by John Buntan to serve the office of a Constable Brought in his Accounts & is fond to have R^d of Will^{im} Wood the sum of 2^{lb}: 3^s: 3^d—his disbursement is

01^{lb}: 9^s: 4

Remane in his hands 00 : 14 : 11

(4) Matthew Watson Chosan Constable & Roger Park Chosan oversear of the heighway

Wharas thar has ben severall debats Conserving the working Att the heighway itt is muttuly agreed that Evrey person that hath nottis geven by the oversear or Anny that he may order to geve them notis ffor Every days neglect wee doo promise to pay 3^s: p^r. day for A man & for A draught 10^s: p^r. day fixed by us Att our towns meting

Roger Park	frances Davenport
Will Black	Robert Willson
henery Beck	John Waring
Matthew grane	Matthew Watson
Robert Chapman	Edward Rockhill
John Chester	Andrew Smith
Charls Mellward	thomas Scoley
thomas Wood	Samuell Buntan
Caleb Whetly	John Buntan
	Samuell Tayler
	Will ^{im} Wood

Att A towns meting held by the Inhabetents of Chesterfield the 2th Day of y^e 9th M^o 1696—John Waring was then Chosan Constable ffor y^e year insuing & Robert Chapman oversear of the highwaye for the year insuing

(5) Att A towns metting this 9th Day of y^e 12th m^o 1697 by the Inhabetants of this townshp of Chesterfield then Matthew Watson whou was chosan Constable for y^e year 1695 Brought in his Accounts & they are Agroued on—henary Beck chosan Constable for y^e year Insuing & Charls Melward Chosan oversear of y^e highwaye

Att A towns metting the 4th Day of 12 m^o 1698 the Inhabetants of this townshp of Chesterfield Being mett together Att thar yousiall place then the Constable Henary Beck Brought in his Account & they are Aproved—

Andrew Smith Chosan Constable for the year Insuing & Benjamin ffield Chosan oversear of y^e heighwaye— persons that was Absent this metting Will Black, John More.

At a towns metting held by the Inhabetants of this townshp of Chesterfield this 12 day of y^e 12 m^o 1699 Itt is this day Agreed by the s^d Inhabetents that After A Lawfull summans by the Constable or his order to Apear At a towne metting that Every person so sumond shall Apear by y^e 10th houer of y^e Day Apinted or Else for Every such defalt shall pay ten pence.

(6) the Constable brought In his Accounts and they Are Approved of— John Arnold Chosen Constable for the year Insuing & Thomas Scoly & John More Chosan oversear of y^e highwaye

Chesterfield

Att a towns metting this 16th Day of November in y^e year 1700 Wee the Inhabetents & freholders being met together By verty of tou warants derected to the Constable from the Justises dated the 12th of this instaⁿt to sumans in all the freholders & Inhabetants of this townshp which s^d warants Are for to Rase a Provencall tax by verty of an act of y^e genarally free assemble dated the 24 day of may anno donn 1700 & for a County tax by verty of an act of y^e Justesis & grand Jury Att a Cort of Quarter sessions held at Burlington the eighth day of August Last past— Wee the ffreholders & Inhabetent being this day met doo According to y^e derictions of y^e s^d warants Cheus our asessers & Collectors to asses & Collect y^e s^d taxes whou are as folloeth Thomas ffolke Ju^r Benjamin ffield

(7)

Chesterfield

Att A towns metting held the fifth day of the twelfth m^o 1700 then was Samuell Taylor Chosen Constable & William Black was then Chosen overseer of the hyway for year Insuing

Chesterfield

Att a towns metting held the seventh day of the Twelft 1701 the constable brought his accounts and the are Aproved six shill (torn) for tending on corts and Apointing on (torn) Towns metting

It is agreead att this Towns meeting that the inhabetants and freeholders of this Township are to mete every year att this metting (torn) one the feirst Seventh day of the week in the Twelft month— Att this towns meeting Charles Millerd was chosen constable and Edward Rockhill overseer of the highwayes ffor the year Insuing And Samuell Taylor chosen clarek

(8) *Chesterfield*

Att A towns metting held the sixth day of the Twelft month 1702 The constable brought his Accounts and the are aproved Itam himself and his men in exspences for caring the felon to prison—6^s Itam ther wages—6^s— Itam for tending on corts—4^s—

Att the sam meeting Samuell Bunting was Chosen constable for the yeare insuing—Edward Rockhil chosen overseer of the high ways William wood then was chosen overseer of the poor for the year Insuing—

Att A Towns meeting held by the Inhabentant and freeholders of Chesterffild y^e 12th day of the (torn) month 1703 the inhabeters and freeholders being summond by the constable are met together in persuance of a warant derected to the constable for them & (torn) are to chuse assesers and colecters for assesing and colecting of a tax for Repairing of the court house and prison which we their and then did chuse Thomas wood Robert Willson Recompane Kerby William Wood Edward Rockhill Samuel Taylor assessers John wann & Nickolis Brown colectors— The inhabetors & freeholders at the sam metting did chuse John Thorn overseer of the pore and Natthanil feild overseer of the high wayes for the year insuing

(9) The Inhabetans and freeholders of Chesterfield did persuent to a warent the 21 of the 7 month 1705 for to sess and Colext a tax for Repairing the Cort hous and prison acording to the Derections of the said warent did chuse our sessers and Colextors to sess and colext the said Tax whose names are as foloweth—

Samuell Bunting

John Bunting

Thomas Scoly

Samuell Taylor

sessers

Joseph Scattergood and John black was Chosen Colextors att the same meeting Beniman Wright for the year Insuing 1706 was Chosen Constable John Moore served Constable for the year 1705

Att a Towns metting the 16 day of the 12 month 1706 Asher Clayton was Chosen constable for the year ensuing—1707. At the same meeting Thomas foulk was chosen overseer of the poor Samuell Taylor and John Black overseers of highways for the year 1707—

(10) The 15 of the feirst month 1708 att a towns meeting held att John Mor's the freeholders and Inhabetors did Chues John Chesher overseer of the poore John a'rnell Chosen Constable And att the same time did Chues John Warin and Samuell willson over seers of the high ways for that year insuing

The 24 of the 3 month 1708 at a Towns meeting held att John moors by vertue of a warent derexted to the overseer of the poor to tak Care of mary wheat Craft and her Children wee did meet persuent ther unto and have agreed to buld a loghouse by John moors to put Her in and at the sam time we did agree with John moor to find her meet drink and washing for one year at Tenn pound ayear if she did work otherwise he wear to have Twelfe pounds ayear att the same meeting it was agreed by the Justise's and freeholders that all freeholders and inhabeters that wear warned by the overseer of the poore the who did not apair at that Towns meeting to pay ther Tax nor subscrib to it for not so doing shall pay fore Shilings to the overseer of the poor for the use of the poor by the 2 day of June next At the same meeting wee did Let a log hous to be bult by Gorg nichelson for to put the said mary wheat Craft in and s^d Gorg is to have 4 pounds for bulding it.

It was agreed att the same meeting by the Justis and Inhabeters and freeholders at that Towns meeting that the inhabetors and freeholders Shall meet per Anum att John moors on the feirst seventh day of the weeck in the Twelft month for to Chuess Constable and other ofesers for the Township—and at the same meeting it was agreed that all persons that did not apair or (torn) sum Lawfull Cous why

the did not apair they shall pay three shilings towards mentaining the poor or for the Towns use

(11) At a towns meeting held the (torn) day of the 12 month 1708 about Chuesing of a Canstable and other busniss belonging to the Town wee do agree to nomenat y^e Constables and other ofesers belonging to the Town that served To this present year folowing are as fowlloweth

<i>Constables</i>	<i>over seer of highways</i>	<i>overseers of poor</i>
Thomas Wood	Thomas foulk	William Wood
Thomas ffoulk	John Banbrig	John Thorn
Robert Willson	John Bunting	Thomas ffoulck
Thomas ffarnsworth	Samuell Bunting	John Chesher
Edward Rockhill	Samuell Tayler	
William Black	Andrew Smith	
Daniel Bacon	Roger Parkes	
William Wood	Robert Chapman	
Andrew Smith	Charls Millerd	
John Bunting	Beniaman feild	
Matthew Wattson	William Black	
John Waring	Thomas Scoly	
Henery Beck	John Moore	
Samuell Tayler	Edward Rockhill	
Charls Milerd	William Wood	
Samuell Bunting	Nathanill feild	
Beniaman Wright	Samu ^l Tayler	
Nicolass Brown	John Black	
John Moore	John Waring	
Asher Clayton	Samu ^l Wilson	
John Bulock		
John Arnell		

att y^e same meeting held y^e 5 day of 12 month 1708 y^e freeholders and inhabeters being meet wee did agree with John moore to keep the said mary wheat Craft another year after this year is expired with meat drink and Lodging and is to give to the said John moor Twelfe pounds for so doing

att A towns meeting held y^e 28 day of y^e 10 month 1708 Jonathan Wright and Robert wright Colexters Chosen by the Town to reseve the Tax and pay it to y^e Trasur with

Bustill (?) for Repairing of the prison then brought their accounts and Their is due to the Town one pound Two Shilings 2 pence Erors excepted and their to Remain till further order

(12) Att the same meeting held the 5 of the 12 month 1708 the freeholders and inhabetors being then mett wee did then chuess Robert Chapman Constable John Syckes and matthew wattson overseer of high wayes John Bacon overseer of the poore

persons that did not apeair att this Towns meeting held y^c 5 of y^c 12 month 1708 Samuell bunting william Wood Asher Clayton Nicolas brown John Clark John Arney Charls Milerd Matthew forsyth John Wright

persons hath not yet payd for not apairing at a towns meeting held y^c 28 of y^c 10 month—1708 Asher Clayton nicolas brown

The 28 of the feirst month 1709 John Chesher overseer of y^c poor Gave in his aCount of what he Laid out upon the aCount of y^c prison which was fore pound Twelfe shiling Teen pence his Acount was given to John Bacon overseer of the poore before me Samuell Taylor & Joseph Myers

Att the Same Time John Chesher brought in a bill of what he had Laid out upon the aCount of the woomam mary wheat craft for Table and other Charges belonging thto which was Sixteen pound Two Shilings and a peny as will apair by his bill 6^{lb}—02^s—01^d. Also att the sam tim he brought aCount of what he Reseved upon the aCount of the prison which was fore pound Eleven shiling & a leven pence Reseved of frances Devenport Joseph Myers for not apairing at Towns meeting Six shilings

(13) Att a towns meeting held by the Inhabers of Chesterfild the 22 day of the 4 month 1709 the Inhabetants being sumensed by the overseer of the poore by ver-ture of a warent derexted to him for Raising a tax toward maintaining of mary wheot craft whereto we have agreed

to make asesment and havf Chosen Samuell bunting Edward Rockhill Thomas Scoly william wood Samⁿ Taylor To lay the asesment

att The same meeting held y^e 22 day of y^e 4 month 1709 wee did agree with Thomas foulk to keep mary wheat craft with meet Drink and Clos for eight pound ayear—

att the sam meeting 22 day of y^e 4 month 1709 John Moor was willing and proferd that if any would keep the said mary wheat Craft Cheaper than we had agreed with him for The Town Was free to Tak her away and Let her to another

The 30 of the 7 month 1709 att our Towns meeting held at John Moors by vertue of a warent derected to the constable for the overseer of the poore to Take care of hughe parett we persuent to y^e warant did meet and at y^e Same meeting it was agreead by the Town that william wood Thomas Scoley John Waring with y^e overseer of the poore John Bacon should Let y^e said hugh parret to be maintained with meat Drinck and Lodging for one year if he life so long

att the same meeting the Town Did agree with Thomas ffoulck for Twenty Shilings ayear more for maintaining of mary wheat Craft for not Removing of the Loge house

att the same meeting The overseer of the pore John Bacon Reseved of Asher Clayton for the use of hugh paritt one pound six Shilings and a Eleven pence

(14) Att a Towns meeting held the 4 day of y^e Twelft month 170¹⁰/₉, To Chues a Constable and other busness belonging to the Town nathanill feild Chosen Constable but doeth not Stand—John Thorn Constable for the year insuing. Henery Becke Chosen overseer of the poore Francis Devenport and Samuell Denford Chosen overseers of highways for the year insuing

Att our Towns meeting held the 6 day of the 12 month 170¹⁰/₉, The freeholders and Inhabetors then meet to Chues Two men wee did Chues Thomas Scoley and John Waring

as Repreritvses for the Town Acording as act of Asembly
Alowes

att y^e same meeting held the 6 day of y^e same month
170¹⁰/9 The freholders and Inhabetors then meet did agree
to nomenatt and Chuess Recompance Kerby Thomas Scoley
Samuell Tayler to meet y^e 11 day 12 month 170¹⁰/9 att
henery becks with the overseer of poor John bacon that he
might give his aCounts before us to henery beck then
overseer of the poore

The 11 of the 12 mth 170¹⁰/9 Recompence Kerby Thomas
Scoley Samuel Tayler and John Bacon did meet acording
to order Their and Then John bacon gavie up his aCounts
before us which was aproved on by us whose nams are
above written

(15) The 11 day of y^e 12 mth 170¹⁰/9 John bacon made
up his aCounts and ther was in his hand due upon the
aCount of the Towne sesments eight pound 5 shilings and
pence which he then paied to henery beck before us Recom-
pance Kerby Thomas Scoley Samuell Tayler

At the same Time then we Colexted and Cast up before
henery beck and their weare for him together upon the
aCount of the Towns Taxe Eight pound thre Shilings and
Tow pence Erors Excepted.

Att a Towns meeting of Chesterffild held the 3 day of
the 12 month 17¹⁰/11 To Chues A Canstabel and other busnes
belonging to the town Richard Harison Chosen Constable
Thomas Scholey Chosen overseer of the poore Johanathan
Wright and William Kerby overseer of highways for the
year insuing.

Att the said meeting held for y^e Township of Chester-
ffild y^e 3 day of y^e 12 month 17¹⁰/11 the freeholders and in-
habeters being meet and find in there wear a necesety for
to Rais money for Releiveng of y^e poor and for other nes-
sesary uses beLonging to the Said Township in order Ther-
unto we who weare meet att y^e said meeting Did Chues fore
men to rais a tax and sess the Same the names of them

that wear Chosen William Wood John Waring Ambros feild Samuell Tayler

Att the s^d metting held y^e 3 day of y^e 12 month 17¹⁰/₁₁ we whose names are here above writen being Chosen being Chosen by the freeholders and Inhabeters to inSpet in to ye aCouents of henery Beck overseer of y^e poore

(16)

Chesterfild.

Att our Towns metting held at y^e hous of John Moors the 2 day of the Twelft month 170¹²/₁₁ to Chues Constabls and other busness belonging to the Town Gorge nichelson serveth Constable for y^e year Insuing Ambros feild Chosen overseer for the poore James Pharah Chosen overseer for the high wayes for y^e year Insuing

Att the same meeting the Inhabetors and freholders being their meet and finding a nesesity for to Rais money to Relve the poore In order there unto we were meet att the said meeting Did Chues Robert Chapman Beniaman Wright John Clayton Samuell Tayler To Rais a Tax and Sess the Same

att the Same meeting 2d of y^e 12 month 17¹²/₁₁ held at the house of John moors the Inhabetors and freholders being ther mett the did agree with Ambros feild to keep mary wheat Craft 4 years from the feirst of may next Insuing with meet and drink and Close att his owne proper Charge and to beare the Township of Chesterff^d harmlis of any Transaxtion if any shall hapen by the said mary wheat Craft and the said Ambros is not to imploy nor set her to work out of Doers Except in harviss or hay Time and for so doing the freholders and Inhabetors do agree and promis to pay to the said Ambros the sum of 9^{lb} 10 shilings a year to be paid at every half year end if she Live so Long as the 4 years the said Ambros Doeth Agree for his selfe that if he should Die his wife should not be Incumbred with the said mary wheat Craft but that the Towne shall Tack her to the Disposing of again paying only for y^e time she Lived with him



JOHAN PRINTZ
GOVERNOR OF NEW SWEDEN
1643-1653

"THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE DELAWARE, 1638-1664."—BY AMANDUS JOHNSON, PH.D.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN, LL.D.

[The original of the portrait of Governor Printz here reproduced is in the church at Bottnaryd, the little village where Printz was born, near Jönköping, capital of the Province of that name, in southern Sweden, of which Printz was Governor after his return from New Sweden until his death. Printz and his two wives are buried in the adjoining churchyard. The arms in the right hand corner of the picture are those of Printz, conferred upon him by Queen Christina before he went to New Sweden.]

THE history of the Swedish settlements on the Delaware by Dr. Amandus Johnson is, and probably always will be, the most complete account of that colony in Swedish or in English. It should be deeply interesting to every intelligent inhabitant of Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey, since it relates the first successful attempt of a European nation to occupy and develop the territory of those States. The author, who is an American of Swedish parentage, began his investigation of the subject five years ago, making three journeys to Sweden, two to Holland and England, and one to Finland, in search of documents and other materials pertinent to his work. In his preface he asserts that he "has examined and read every document on the subject known to exist," and no one who notes the multitude of his citations and the variety of sources from which they are drawn will be disposed to doubt the truth of so broad a statement. The extraordinary number of books consulted is equally significant of the zeal and thoroughness with which the author has fulfilled his task. Nothing more could be desired of him provided his use of the information so laboriously acquired be as judicious as his search for it is earnest and sincere. That this is the case no one will deny who takes the trouble or gives himself the pleasure of reading Dr. Johnson's book.

The work is issued in two volumes, of over nine hundred pages, with six maps and one hundred and sixty illustrations, many of them of great value and interest, and not a few made expressly for it. It is divided into five Books, the first of which gives the European background, so to speak, of the subject, the remaining four dealing with the actual history of the colony from 1635 to 1664, each subdivided into two Parts, the first of which treats of the activities in Europe, and the second of which tells the story of the settlements during the period covered by that Book.

The first Book, or Introduction, comprising eighty-three pages, is divided into two Parts, the first of which presents a most interesting picture of the political, social, and religious conditions in Sweden from 1611 to 1660, and the second of which contains, it is believed, the most complete account of the economic conditions of that country, and of the trading companies at this time, which has appeared in English.

The second Book, containing one hundred and thirty-four pages, speaks of the founding of the New Sweden Company and the occupation of the Delaware by the Swedes under the two first Governors, Peter Minuit and Peter Ridder. It shows the great difficulties encountered in organizing the enterprise, notwithstanding its endorsement and financial backing by Axel Oxenstierna and other illustrious counsellors of Queen Christina. It describes the hardships and privations of settlers in a new country, as well as their fortitude and energy in overcoming the obstacles encountered. It tells of the melancholy death of Minuit on his return voyage to Sweden for reinforcements. It contributes fresh information as to the personality and character of his successor, about whom so little is known. And finally it clears up questions regarding the relations of the immigrants to their neighbours, Indians, Dutch and English.

The third Book, comprising two hundred and forty-eight pages, gives an account of the reorganized New Sweden Company and its expeditions to New Sweden from 1642 to

1653, and the history of the colony during the governorship of Johan Printz. It describes most fully the social and economic life of the colony, and the dwellings, customs and religious worship of the people. This is followed, as before, by a recital of their relations with the Indians, Dutch and English, this subject being treated with remarkable skill and fairness to opposing claims and interests. And the final chapter gives the best account yet written of the government of New Sweden during this period. Printz is presented to the reader in his true aspect as an able ruler of his colony, and one who, with more substantial support from Sweden, would have shown himself to be quite a match for Peter Stuyvesant.

The fourth Book, containing one hundred and fifty pages, is devoted to the last period of the colony under Swedish rule, comprising the administrations of Johan Papegoja and Johan Rising. It is interesting as indicating the improvement in the social life of the people, and includes a chapter on the literature of New Sweden. It concludes with a graphic account of the overthrow of Swedish authority by the Dutch of New Netherland.

The fifth Book, comprising fifty-four pages, gives an account of the American Company (the reorganized New Sweden Company), of the twelfth and last expedition to New Sweden, and of the Swedish settlements under Dutch rule, from 1654 to 1664. It also mentions the efforts of Sweden to regain the colony from 1653 to 1673.

One of the most remarkable features of the work is its very valuable Appendices. These occupy one hundred and forty-two pages. They include biographies of persons prominently connected with the history of New Sweden, lists of officers, soldiers, servants and settlers in New Sweden from 1638 to 1656, documents and translations of documents, and an incomparable bibliography of the subject filling forty-eight pages, locating manuscripts, and giving titles of printed books.

What more could be desired but a good index? The index of this work is the best I am acquainted with, occupying sixty-eight pages, and made personally by the author, who, not content with giving numbers of pages after important subjects and names of persons, indicates the matter referred to on each particular page.

All honor to the writer of this masterpiece of historical investigation, and to Gustavus Adolphus College, of St. Peter, and our University of Pennsylvania, which trained him to produce it. Thanks to the Swedish Colonial Society, which enabled him to publish it.

The book is dedicated by the author to His Majesty, Gustaf V., King of Sweden.

It is issued in two forms. One, the University edition, is offered to all who desire to purchase it. The other, printed on special paper, in binding of Swedish blue, embossed with the arms of Governor Printz, which were adopted for the colony of New Sweden, and containing additional illustrations, is for distribution to the members of the Swedish Colonial Society. In this edition, after the index, appears the Constitution of that Society, with a list of its officers, councillors, and members. This is its first publication, and it may interest readers to learn something of this newly formed association. It was founded in Philadelphia a little over two years ago. Its object, as its constitution expresses it, is "to collect, preserve, and publish records, documents, and other material, printed or in manuscript, and to commemorate events relating to the history of Swedes in America." King Gustaf V., of Sweden, graciously accepted the office of High Patron of the Society. His Excellency Count Johan J. A. Ehrensward, Minister of Sweden to the United States, succeeded the late Minister, His Excellency Herman L. F. de Lagercrantz, as Honorary President of it. Its active President is Chevalier Marcel A. Viti, Royal Vice-Consul of Sweden at Philadelphia. The Society numbers at present, about three hundred members. Among these are the President, four Vice-Presidents, the Recording and

Corresponding Secretaries, the Auditor, Curator, Librarian, Historiographer, and several Councillors of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. About two-thirds of the members are descendants of the early Swedish settlers on the Delaware, while the remainder include many prominent scholars and historians, and persons interested in the purposes of the Society.

BEGINNINGS OF THE IRON INDUSTRY IN
TRENTON, NEW JERSEY.

BY WILLIAM NELSON.

THE steps that led up to the establishment of the iron industry in Trenton may be regarded as having their beginning in a certain deed dated September 23, 1721, from Richard Newcombe of Lewistowne, in the county of Sussex, upon Delaware, Mariner ("only Son and Heir at Law of Richard Newcombe, also Newcome, dec'd and Mary his wife, also dec'd"), to Thomas Lambert of Nottingham, Burlington county, for two-third parts of one-fourteenth of one-ninetieth of ninety one-hundredths of West New Jersey. This deed recites that by a certain deed dated April 4, 1683, between William Welch, Tanner, of London, Merchant, and John Marshal of Limehouse, in Middlesex county, Mariner, the former sold one-fourteenth of one-ninetieth of ninety one-hundredths of all the tract called West Jersey, warranted to contain 1400 acres; that Elizabeth Marshal, of Limehouse in the Parish of Stepney of Middlesex county, widow and executrix of John Marshal, conveyed to Richard Newcombe, the father, and Richard Newcombe the son, the tract by them above conveyed to Thomas Lambert.¹

The next step is a deed dated July 12, 1723, from Samuel Green of Amwell, Hunterdon county, West New Jersey, yeoman, to William Trent, Esq., of Nottingham Township, Burlington county, John Porterfield, Esq., of Trenton, Hunterdon county, and Thomas Lambert, Gentleman, of Nottingham Township, Burlington county. This deed recites that William Trent, above mentioned, conveyed to said Samuel Green fourteen acres of land situate in Trent Town on the North side of Assunkpink; that Thomas Lambert

¹ *N. J. Deeds, Liber D.D.*, 101, Secretary of State's Office.

conveyed sixteen acres to said Samuel Green, situate in Nottingham aforesaid on the South side of Assunkpink and adjoining the above said tract of Trent. This deed of July 12, 1723, thereupon witnesses that Samuel Green for five shillings paid him by said Trent, Porterfield and Lambert, conveyed thirty acres of land situate in the Township of Nottingham aforesaid, being in two parcels, the first comprising fourteen acres purchased of William Trent, and the second comprising sixteen acres purchased of Thomas Lambert, "excepting the Grist-mill and other mills erected on the Assunkpink brook and now in possession of the Messrs. Trent;" the above thirty acres to be held as tenants in common, that is, one-half to William Trent and his heirs, one-third to John Porterfield and his heirs, and one-sixth to Thomas Lambert and his heirs. This instrument was witnessed by Jacob Bailorjean and John Vanlaer.

This transaction was evidently for the purpose of carrying out a project in partnership, probably the establishment of an iron manufactory on the tract thus held by the three men in common. Just when the iron works were established does not appear, but by the next deed to be recited, bearing date June 20, 1729, we are able quite distinctly to locate the beginning of this industry as having taken place within the six years elapsing between 1723 and 1729.¹

On June 20, 1729, James Trent, eldest son and heir at law of William Trent, Esq., late of Nottingham, Burlington county, New Jersey, dec'd, conveyed to Anthony Morris, of the city of Philadelphia, Brewer, for the consideration of five shillings, two-thirds of one-half of two pieces or tracts "contiguous on Assunpink Creek in the township of Trenton in Hunterdon county, New Jersey, and of the Forge Iron Works and Buildings thereon with Water Wells, Bellows, Hamer, Anvil, and other utensils to the Forge belonging:" one being a tract of fourteen acres on the North side of Assunpink, and the second being a tract of sixteen

¹ *N. J. Deeds, Liber D. D., 122.*

acres on the South side of said Creek.¹ By this deed, it will be seen, Anthony Morris acquired an interest in the tracts in question, and became a tenant in common thereof with Thomas Lambert, John Porterfield and James Trent, as the heir of William Trent. These four men thereupon entered into a co-partnership on the same day that the last-mentioned deed was executed. The articles of partnership set out so fully the purposes of the Company, and give so excellent an idea of the condition of the iron works at the time, that they are herewith reproduced in full:

Articles of agreement indented made concluded and agreed upon this twentyeth Day of June in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred & Twenty nine Between Thomas Lambert, John Porterfield, Anthony Morris and James Trent in Manner and form following (Viz)

Whereas the said partys to these presents owners of the forge already erected & built situate lying and being in the Town of Trenton on a River or Brook called Assunpink on the North side thereof together with the Lands thereunto appertaining on each side of said Creek with all the Buildings Dams Water Courses & all other conveniences and appurtenances belonging or any wise appertaining to the premises for the making of Bar Iron according to their respective Shares and parts, and to hold and manage and carry on the same in Copartnership, and shall bear and pay a proportionable part of the Charges and Expenses which hereafter shall be laid out in putting and preserving the said forge in good and sufficient Repair together with the whole premises there unto belonging (that is to say) the said Thomas Lambert, John Porterfield, Anthony Morris and James Trent partys to these presents do declare and agree that in Consideration of the Trust and Confidence that they have and do repose in each other have concluded agreed and by these presents do & each of them doth hereby covenant and conclude & agree to be copartners in providing getting & bringing their respective Shares and proportion of pig Mettle to the forge aforesaid, & in carrying on & managing the work and business aforesaid for the Manufacturing the said pig Mettle into Barr Iron which they do hereby oblige and bind themselves their Heirs and Assigns

¹ *N. J. Deeds, Liber D. D., 387.*

to perform fulfill & observe according to the true intent & Meaning hereof at their own proper cost & Charge & shall also pay their respective Shares & proportions of all the cost & charge in providing workmen finding Stock of Coal and bringing the same to the Coal houses with all other things necessary for refining hammering and drawing the said Iron into Bars as aforesaid and when made shall have their and every of their respective parts Shares portions and Dividends delivered to each and every of them or their Assigns at the fforge aforesaid, But in case any of the partys shall fail or neglect in providing bringing or delivering at the fforge aforesaid his or their full proportionable part or Share of pig Mettle Coal or other necessary Stock, then and in such Case it is hereby covenanted concluded & agreed on by and between all the said partys to these presents that such person or persons so failing or neglecting in providing bringing and delivering at the fforge aforesaid his or their full parts shares and portions of the Mettle Coal and other necessary Stock aforesaid shall nevertheless pay their proportionable part according to their respective share they hold in the Works of all Moneys disbursed for putting and keeping the same in good Repair and Shall receive no greater or larger Dividend of the Iron when made than in proportion to the stock of Mettle and Coal by them delivered in, (the workmens wages for making the same being first deducted) And for the better managing of all the Matters and things relating to the Copartnership aforesaid each of them the said partys by and for himself his Executors Administrators or Assigns shall and will on the first day of every third Month from the Date hereof during the said Copartnership meet and consult together in about and concerning the premises or at any other time or times and at such place and places in the said County of Hunterdon as they or a Majority of them to be reckoned according to their their respective Shares and Interests as after mentioned shall from time to time appoint in the monthly Meeting aforesaid at which or any other Meetings so to be appointed all the said partys to these presents their Executors Administrators or Assigns or a Majority of them so meeting are to conferr and deliberate, also fix and determine concerning the Copartnership aforesd (viz) what sum or sums of Money or Stock will be necessary for carrying on said Iron Works and what Number of Workmen or Servants with Horses Cattle and Carriages

and other Tools and Utensils may be requisite and necessary and what Wages to the Workmen when and how to be paid and for making provision for subsisting the Workmen and Teams and to whom the Care and oversight thereof shall be committed, also when and in what manner the Forge Engines building and repairing Dams Pranks Water-courses Races and all other things thereunto belonging are to be kept up cleaned repaired or altered and what additional Works or Conveniences shall be made thereunto, and how the Work and Business aforesaid shall be carried on and the said Forge provided & supplied with pig Iron Coal and other Necessarys and how and when each of the said partys his Executors Administrators or assigns shall find his proportion of Wood for Coals and about the division of Iron made in said Forge and concerning any addition or alteration in the said Copartnership, all which before mentioned, or whatsoever Matters or things are necessary tho' not herein contained to the better carrying on the Works shall be by the Majority of the said Company determined at their said Meetings and shall be binding and conclusive to and amongst all and every of the said partys to these presents and to their Executors Administrators and Assigns, And it is further agreed that each and every of the said partys their Executors Administrators and Assigns respectively in disposing of any Iron to be made at the fforge aforesaid shall not directly or indirectly undersell or sell at a lower or lesser price than what the said partys their Executors Administrators or Assigns or a Majority of them to be reckoned as aforesaid shall in their Meetings aforesaid from time to time order and appoint without first offering the same to the rest of the Company at the prices so to be appointed at the Meetings aforesaid, And that if any of them the said partys his Executors Administrators or Assigns shall at any time hereafter be minded or willing to dispose of his part Share and Interest of & in all & singular the said premises in Copartnership aforesaid including the Land thereunto belonging he or they so minded shall communicate & offer the same to the other partners at their Meeting aforesd to the End & Interest that the rest of the Company aforesd may have if they think fit the refusal thereof at the greatest price that the party minded to sell can bona fide have of any of the sd partners or of a Stranger to be approved of as hereinafter mentioned, And if the rest of

the Company refuse to buy at that price then he or they may sell to any one of the said Company and if none of the Company be minded to buy at the same prices then he or they may sell to a stranger, provided always nevertheless that such a Stranger be a person approv'd of by a Majority of the Company aforesaid in Copartnership at some of their said Meetings so that in selling of the Interests of any of the partys aforesaid preference shall be given to the Rest of the Company before a Stranger. And it is further covenanted concluded & agreed on by and between all & every of the said partys to these presents and each of them by and for himself his Executors Administrators and Assigns doth covenant promise and grant to and with each other of them his Executors Administrators and Assigns by these presents that no Right of Survivorship shall take place or have effect in or for any Matter or thing touching the Copartnership aforesaid or any Stock of Money advanced or to be advanced or other Gains profits or Increase thereof But that the Survivor or Survivors of them the said Copartners shall & will promise & suffer the Executors Administrators and Assigns of him or them dying or departing this Life before the other of them to have possess occupy and enjoy his and their proportionable part of the proceeds of the fforge aforesaid and of all other the whole premises aforesaid in Copartnership. And also that the Survivor and Survivors of them shall permit and suffer his & their Name and Names or the Name or Names of his or their Executors Administrators or Assigns as occasion shall require to be made use of by the Executors and Administrators or Assigns of the other in Commencing or defending any Action or Suite as occasion may require. And if any Variance or Difference Doubt Question Controversy or Contention shall at any time or times hereafter arise or happen among the said partys or any of them or the Executors Administrators or Assigns of any of them for or by reason of any Matter Clause Sentence or thing herein contained or Construction thereof or by reason or means of the copartnership aforesaid or any matter or thing thereon depending which they the said partys their Executors Administrators or Assigns or a Majority of them to be reckoned as before mentioned in their Meetings aforesaid cannot reconcile and determine the same that then from time to time and so often as the same shall happen and before any Suite Arrest or Trouble

shall be attempted or begun by any of them against the other, all and every of the said Variances Differences Questions Doubts Controversy & Contentions shall from time to time be referred & submitted to the hearing Order Award & Determination of a competent Number of honest and lawful Men not exceeding five in Number whom they the said partys their Executors Administrators or Assigns shall nominate and chuse as Arbitrators in & for all & every the said premises & being so chosen shall deliver up their Award & Determination thereof in writing under their Hands & Seals or the hands & Seals of the Major part of them within thirty days after the same before referred to them. And also that each of the said partys to these presents his Executors Administrators & Assigns respectively for their several and particular parts shall & will from time to time stand to observe perform fulfill & keep all & every such Award Order Judgment final End & Determination as the referees so to be chosen as aforesaid or a Majority of them shall from time to time make and give in Writing in Manner aforesaid for or in Behalf of the said partys their Exrs. Admrs. or Assigns respectively or any of them, Its hereby ascertained that the partys and Shares of the partys hereunto are as followeth Viz. Thomas Lambert one equal Sixth part of the whole premises, John Porterfield one equal third part and Anthony Morris one equal third part and James Trent one equal Sixth part AND Lastly for the true performance of all & every the Covenants Grants Articles provisoes and agreements herein contained which on the parts & Behalf of every or any of them the said partys are and ought to be observed kept done and performed the said partys to these presents do bind and oblige themselves their and every of their Heirs, Executors and Administrators each to the other his Executors Administrators or Assigns in the penal sum of five hundred pounds lawful Money of America firmly by these presents.

In Witness whereof the said partys to these presents have hereunto set their Hands and Seals the Day and Year first above written.

Thomas Lambert (L.S.)

John Porterfield (L.S.)

Anthony Morris (L.S.)

James Trent (L.S.)

Sealed and delivered in the presence of Enoch Andrews, Mahlon Stacy, Will Yard.¹

The execution of this instrument was proved June 17, 1738, by Enoch Andrews (Anderson) who deposes that he saw Thomas Lambert, John Porterfield, Anthony Morris and James Trent severally sign the same as their act and deed and deliver the same for the uses therein mentioned.

Another deed was executed June 21, 1729, by James Trent, eldest son and heir at law of Wm. Trent, late of Nottingham, Burlington county, New Jersey, to Anthony Morris of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Brewer, which contains the following recital:

“On July 11, 1723, Wm. Trent & Mary his wife granted to Samuel Green fourteen acres of land for use of a Forge or Iron works the land lying on the Brook Assunpink on North side thereof in Township of Trenton, Hunterdon county, being part of a large tract purchased by Wm. Trent from Mahlon Stacy, late of Nottingham, and by deed made July 11, 1723, between Thomas Lambert, gentleman, of Nottingham, and said Samuel Green, said Lambert sold to Samuel Green sixteen acres on South side of Assunpink Creek, and said fourteen and sixteen acres were laid out for the use and service of a forge or Iron works now erected thereon, and the said Samuel Green granted the same to said Wm. Trent, John Porterfield and Thomas Lambert by deed dated July 12, 1723.” This indenture shows that James Trent for thirty-three pounds, six shillings and eight pence conveyed to Anthony Morris the two-thirds of one-half part of the fourteen acres and sixteen acres and the Forge, &c.²

In 1730, the Company bought by deed dated July 6, of that year, an additional tract of land from Thomas Biles of Bucks county, Pennsylvania, yeoman, the grantees being described as Thomas Lambert of Nottingham, Burlington

¹ *N. J. Deeds, Liber E., 339.*

² *N. J. Deeds, Liber D.D., 388.*

county, yeoman, William Morris of the same place, Merchant, Anthony Morris of the City of Philadelphia, Brewer, John Porterfield and James Trent, both of Trenton, Hunterdon county, gentlemen, the tract being described as ten and three-fourths acres and fourteen perches, situate near Trenton :

Beginning at a post in the line of Enoch Anderson's land ; thence running South twenty-four perches to Assunpink Creek ; thence up the same South eighty-seven degrees East twelve perches to a corner ; thence North forty-nine degrees East twelve perches to a post ; thence North forty-five degrees East thirty-two perches to another post ; thence North thirty-seven degrees East sixteen perches to a corner post, near the Forge ; thence North fifty-two degrees West twenty-nine perches to a stone ; thence South forty-six degrees West forty-seven perches to the place of Beginning.

The deed recites that James Trent conveyed the above ten and three-fourth acres and fourteen perches to Thomas Biles by deed dated July 3, 1730, and Thomas Biles by deed of July 6, 1730, conveys the same to the grantees first above mentioned.¹

James Trent of Trenton, Hunterdon county, Esq., conveys by deed dated January 26, 1731-2, to Isaac Harrow of the same place, blacksmith, for the consideration of 16 pounds, a lot lying in Trenton bounded as follows :

Beginning at a stone on South side of a certain run commonly called Pettit's run ; thence North 71° East 12 perches to a stone for a corner ; thence North 39° East 16 perches to another stone for a Corner ; thence North 47° West 7 perches across the said run to a stone for another corner ; thence South West 12 perches ; thence South 60° West 9 perches to a stone by the King's Road ; then 6 chains & 40 links across the said run to ye first Station, containing 1 acre.²

Isaac Harrow, blacksmith, of Trenton, added to the above purchase by virtue of a deed from James Trent of Trenton,

¹ *N. J. Deeds, Liber D. D., 398.*

² *N. J. Deeds, Liber E F, 445.*

gentleman, dated April 16, 1734, from whom he purchased for the consideration of forty-six pounds, a lot of land lying in Trenton, bounded as follows :

Beginning at a stone for a corner, being on the line of Benj. Smith's plantation on North side of Pettit's run ; thence along by said James Trent's fence South seventy-one degrees East five chains & eighty links to a stone for a corner by the said James Trent's Fence, and from thence runs South sixteen degrees West by the West End of Wm. Allen's stable three chains & sixteen links to a stone, being a corner of Coll Coxe's Lott of land and from thence runs along the Rear of the said Coxe's lott North ninety degrees West to a stone one chain . . and is another of the said Coxe's Corners, and thence along said Coxe's line & which said stone is also a Corner of Dr. Patterson's Lott ; thence along rear line of Dr. Patterson's, Henry Carters, James Bells and John Chambers Lotts of land North 79° West 4 chains & 25 links to a stone for a corner ; thence North 3° East over said Pettit's run, 4 chains & 50 links to a stone by the road in the said Benj. Smith's line ; thence along said Smith's line North 27° East 2 chains and 20 links to beginning. Containing 3¼ acres.

Witnesses : Joseph Yard, William Pierson, Isaac Ivens.¹

The *American Weekly Mercury*, published at Philadelphia, under date of September 5, 1734, contains this advertisement :

"Lately set up at Trenton in New Jersey, a Planing and Plate Mill by Isaac Harrow, an English Smith, who makes the under named goods,"—and then follows a long list of dripping pans, frying pans, chafing dishes, broad axes, falling axes, knives, spades, shovels, ladels, pans, shears, saws, coffee roasters, &c., "likewise also too, iron plates fitted for Bell Making or any other Use."²

Isaac Harrow did not live long to enjoy, or otherwise, his new industrial venture. His will, dated the 7 mo. 28, 1738, was admitted to probate April 6, 1741, showing that he

¹ *N. J. Deeds, Liber E F, 446.*

² *N. J. Archives, XI., 355.*

had carried on this enterprise less than seven years. By this will he gave to his son James his wearing apparel and ten shillings, and "no more of my estate." All the rest of his estate he gave to his wife Temperance, naming her and his friends Anthony Morris and William Morris, Executors, whom he empowered to "sell my estate the better to enable them to pay my debts." The will was witnessed by Henry Carter, Josiah Appleton and John Yard.¹

The *New England Weekly Journal*, Boston, March 19, 1733, quoting doubtless from a Pennsylvania newspaper, gives an account of great damages done by the breaking up of the ice and consequent freshets:

"We likewise hear that the Freshes have done much Damage at *Trentown*, that it carried away the Dam of the Iron-Work, & the Dam of the Grist Mill, Bridge, & Dying-House, with a large Copper was carried down the Stream, & abundance of other Damage——." ²

Temperance Harrow, Anthony Morris, Esq., and William Morris, Esq., executors of Isaac Harrow, deceased, by deed dated September 9, 1743, conveyed to John Coxe of Trenton, Hunterdon county, Attorney at law, for the consideration of sixty pounds, a tract situate in Trenton, bounded as follows:

Beginning at a Lott of John Chambers on the East side of the River Road and runs from thence along said Road North four degrees East twenty-one links to a stake; thence North sixty-five degrees East three chains and sixty links to a stake; thence South eighty-six degrees thirty minutes East one chain forty-three links to the corner of John Coxe's Lott; thence along said Coxe's Line two and one-half chains to the corner of Dr. Patterson's Lott & so is bounded along by the rear of said Patterson's Lott, David Cowells, Clotworthy Reeds, James Bell and John Chambers to place of Beginning. Containing two Rodd and thirty-two *Pearches*. Witnessed by John Clark and Alexander Chambers.³

¹ *N. J. Wills*, Liber 4, 277.

² *N. J. Archives*, Vol. XI, 308.

³ *N. J. Deeds*, Liber E F, 326.

The mill, however, was not included in this transfer, but was advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 15, 1745, as follows:

"To be sold, in Trenton, by publick Vendue on the 3rd of September next.

"The Iron Plaiting Works, Smith's Shop, and all the Tools and Molds, for making Frying-pans, Dripping-pans, &c., said Works being now fit for Use: Also a good new Dwelling-house, Lot and Outhouses, all of the Estate of Isaac Harrow, deceased. The Conditions of Payment to be known of Anthony Morris, in Philadelphia, or of William Morris in Trenton."¹

By the recitals in a deed dated September 17, 1762, from Benjamin Yard to Owen Biddle and Timothy Matlack, it appears that Isaac Harrow's mill property was sold October 17, 1745, to Joseph Higby, and that Higby sold it the next day to Anthony Morris, who on November 1, 1745, sold it to Benjamin Yard. The sale to Higby probably took place at the auction sale above advertised.

William Yard was interested in 1748 in the iron works on Black Creek, about half a mile from Bordentown.² He was probably a relative of Benjamin Yard, perhaps his father.

In 1750 the British Parliament passed an act providing that on and after the twenty-fourth day of June, in that year, all "Subsidies, Customs, Impositions, Rates and Duties then payable on Pig Iron, made in and imported from his Majesty's Colonies in America into any part of Great Britain," should cease. The act further provided: "And that Pig and Bar Iron made in his Majesty's Colonies of America, may be further manufactured into this Kingdom, be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That from and after the Twenty-fourth Day of June, One thousand seven hundred and fifty, No Mill or other Engine for Slitting or Rolling of Iron or any Plating-Forge to work with a Tilt Hammer, or

¹ *N. J. Archives*, Vol. XII, 269.

² *N. J. Archives*, Vol. XII, 457.

any Furnace for making Steel, shall be erected, or after such Erection, continued in any of his Majesty's Colonies in America; and if any Person or Persons shall erect, or cause to be erected, or after such Erection continue or cause to be continued, in any of the said Colonies, any such Mill, or Engine, Forge, or Furnace, every Person or Persons so offending, shall for every such Mill, Engine, Forge or Furnace, forfeit the Sum of Two hundred Pounds of lawful Money of Great Britain." The act also declared "that every such Mill, Engine, Forge or Furnace so erected or continued contrary to the Directions of the Act, shall be deemed a common Nuisance," and made it the duty of the Governor of any Colony to order and cause the same to be abated within thirty days.

Governor Belcher issued a Proclamation September 15, 1750, requiring the "Owner or Owners of every Mill or Engine for slitting or rolling of Iron, and of every plateing Forge that works with a tilt Hammer, and of every Furnace for making of Steel," which were erected before June 24, 1750, to transmit a particular account under their hands of the situations of their respective works, etc.; also requiring the Sheriffs of the several counties to notify him on or before the twentieth of October following, of the number of such mills, etc., in their respective counties. In accordance with this Proclamation, John Allen, Sheriff of Hunterdon county, reported to the Governor that he had found:

One Plateing Mill Scituate in Trenton in the County of Hunterdon said to belong to Benjamin Yard which to my Certain knowledge was Erected before the said Twenty fourth day of June Last past and is now in Use.

Also one Furnis for making Steel belonging to the above sd Yard which Also to my own knowledge was Erected before the Twenty fourth day of June last past but is not now in use. And after a strict Inquiry I can Discover no other Mills or Engine for Slitting or rolling of Iron or plateing forges which work a Tilt Ham'er or Furnaces for making of steel within my County.

On November 10, 1750, Governor Belcher transmitted a report to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, setting forth his Proclamation and the report of Sheriff Allen, and embodying in his own report, the substance of such report.¹

No other reference to any steel works in New Jersey has been discovered, and it would therefore appear that Benjamin Yard is entitled to the honor of having established the first steel works in New Jersey, if not in America.

By deed dated September 17, 1762, Benjamin Yard of Trenton, blacksmith, and Ann his wife, conveyed to Owen Biddle, watchmaker, and Timothy Matlack, merchant, both of Philadelphia, for the consideration of one hundred and fifty-five pounds, each an equal undivided one-half part of a certain Lot of land in Trenton "Beginning at a stone standing on the Bank of the plating Mill race and bears South West seventy-two degrees at twenty-eight links Distant from the South West Corner of the Plating mill wall, and thence South eighteen degrees West one chain and nineteen Links to a stone standing in the Bank of the Run and is a corner of the said Benj. Yard's plating mill Lott and from thence runs North seventy-five degrees West two chains to a stone standing in a line of land late belonging to Benj. Smith deceased, and from thence runs along that Line North twenty-six degrees East two chains and thirteen links to a stone standing six links to the South of a black walnutt tree & from thence runs South seventy-six degrees East two chains & sixteen links to the First mentioned corner or place of beginning."²

Another deed appears on record dated March 29, 1768, from Benjamin Yard of Trenton, Hunterdon county, blacksmith, and Isaac Yard of the same place, hatter, to Nathan Dakes of the township of Trenton, yeoman, wherein and whereby for the consideration of £111 the Yards convey a

¹ *N. J. Archives*, VII., 558-570.

² *N. J. Deeds*, *Liber S.*, 261.

lot of twelve and nine-tenths acres in the township of Trenton, Beginning at Nathan Dakes corner touching Nield Levinstone line and Maiden Head Road, and also another lot No. 6 in the plan, beginning at Benjamin Yard's corner and bounding on Maiden Head Road, John Yard and Jethro Yard's deceased corner, 8 acres; also lot No. 7 of the plan, eight and one-half acres. This deed recites that William Yard, late of Trenton, inn keeper, deceased, became seized of lands in Trenton or thereabouts, and by his will dated February 12, 1742, devised all his lands in Hunterdon county, to his five sons—Joseph, William, John, Benjamin and Jethro,—the real estate to be equally divided among them, &c.¹

By another deed dated April 16, 1781, Benjamin Yard of Trenton, Hunterdon county, conveyed to Nahor Yard of the same place, the consideration being love of his son and five shillings, a lot of land in Trenton:—

Beginning at a stone corner to a lot late of Joseph DeCou, now belonging to Wm. Roscoe in Stanton's line, thence running along Second Street North seventy-nine degrees West forty-seven feet to a stone corner to other land of said Benjamin Yard, thence along same Street South one hundred and fifty-one feet to a lot now or late belonging to Sarah Panier; thence along the same South seventy-seven degrees East forty-eight feet to a stone for a corner in said line of Hugh Stantin; thence along the same North one hundred and fifty feet to place of Beginning.²

The last three conveyances seem to refer to the site of the steel plant owned by Benjamin Yard in 1750.

The venerable Judge William S. Yard, of Trenton, has been engaged for several years in delving into the history of his ancestor's steel works.

Pettit's or Petty's run ran across West State street about one hundred feet east of the New Jersey State House grounds. It was diverted into a sewer many years ago.

¹ *N. J. Deeds, Liber E*, 404.

² *N. J. Deeds, Liber A T*, 188.

The exact site of the plant first mentioned above has not been determined. It was probably west of the present Warren street, lying on both sides of the Assunpink Creek.

It is to be regretted that we have no account of the progress, decay and final abandonment of this earliest iron enterprise in Trenton.

The forge was doubtless supplied with iron ore from up the Delaware river, and possibly the records of the Durham and other iron furnaces and forges may reveal transactions with the Trenton works.

In August, 1772, there was uncovered the foundation wall of an old building at the corner of Ferry and Bloomsbury (now Warren) streets, in Trenton, which was octagonal in shape, and about sixty feet in diameter. These walls were composed of hard gray stone, two feet thick, and six feet in depth, with four openings, each about three feet wide, facing north, south, east and west. In the northwest corner was the foundation of a stone and brick chimney, about six feet wide and extending six feet deep below the surface. What was this building? It has been conjectured that it was a fort or block house built for the protection of the original iron works, which is unlikely. No record has been found of its erection, nor of the purpose to which it was devoted. It is probable that it was one of the forts erected during the French and Indian War, when the inhabitants of New Jersey were under the apprehension of an Indian invasion from New York and Pennsylvania.¹

¹ *Proceedings N. J. Historical Society, Second Series, III., 61.*

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

A COMMITTEE OF THE ALUMNI OF ALL DEPARTMENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA IS PREPARING A CATALOGUE to contain all of the graduates and non-graduate matriculates of the University. We append a list of the *Medical* graduates of whom the committee has no information. Our readers will lighten not a little the difficult labors of the committee in collecting data of these graduates, if they send at once whatever information they may have to Dr. Ewing Jordan, 1510 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

Information is especially desired as to full names, full date and place of birth and death; if married, wife's name; academic degrees received, prominent positions held, and any printed reference to the men named.

CLASS OF 1823

Argyle, William	Va.	Heineken,	
Ayer, Cornelius Kirkland	S. C.	John Frederick Diedrich	Pa.
Baum, Charles	Pa.	Ingram, John	Va.
Baum,		Johnson, Thomas Jefferson	Va.
William John Christian	Pa.	Johnson, Wood Tucker	Va.
Biddle, Samuel	Pa.	Jones, Aquilla	Pa.
Bobo, William Johnson	S. C.	Laws, Belitha	Del.
Bradley, Carter Henry	Va.	Lyle, James	Va.
Brinton, George Henry	Pa.	Lynch, Micajah T.	Va.
Buck, Isaac Newton	Va.	McCaa, William L.	S. C.
Butler, Charles Grandison	Va.	McClenahan, Morris	Pa.
Butts, John	Va.	McDowell, Andrew N.	Pa.
Caruthers, William Alexander	Va.	Marks, Frederick	S. C.
Carver, Robert M.	Va.	Mebane, Alexander, W.	N. C.
Clark, Charles F.	N. J.	Milnor, William Jr.	Pa.
Clarke, Ulrick B.	S. C.	Morton, George	Va.
Cloud, Joseph Jr.	Pa.	Page, Matthew Jr.	Va.
Collins, Stephen	Md.	Perkins, Frederick	Va.
Collins, William	Del.	Powe, Thomas E.	S. C.
Cox, Abraham Lidden	Pa.	Price, Joseph	Pa.
Cox, William Smith	Pa.	Quigley, John	Pa.
Cropper, John Washington	Va.	Read, Albert Gallatin	Va.
Currie, William M.	Pa.	Shanks, Lewis	Va.
Davis, William	Pa.	Simpson, Samuel P.	S. C.
Dearborn, Ashael	N. H.	Skinner, John Adams	N. C.
Drake, Alfred	Pa.	Smith, Joseph L.	Pa.
Duncan,		Smith, Samuel	Pa.
Alexander Joshua Henry	S. C.	Sullivan, James Bailey	Va.
Dunscomb, Daniel L.	Va.	Tate, Mitchell	Va.
Ellerson, John Hanckel	Pa.	Thornton, Hudson A.	Ga.

Embree, Elisha	Ohio	Vaughan, Joshua Franklin	Del.
Faures, Lawrence	Pa.	Watson, Daniel	R. I.
George, Silas	Pa.	Watson, Loton G.	N. C.
Geyer, William Hartman	Pa.	Whiting,	
Goodwin, John Minor	Va.	Charles Henri	Dist Columbia
Greene, James Montgomery	Pa.	Worsham, Henry Cousins	Va.
Greene, Willis	Ga.	Wright, Marmaduke Burr	N. J.
Gwinner, Samuel C.	Pa.	Yerby, George T.	Va.
Hamlin, William	Va.	Young, James	Pa.
Harper, Thomas L.	Va.	Young, Jesse	Pa.
Haskins, Aaron Burr	Va.		

CLASS OF 1824

Banks, John	Pa.	Morris, Nimmo	Va.
Briscoe, Warner	Va.	Morrison, Edwin A.	Va.
Cocke, Chastain	Va.	Myers, John J.	S. C.
Cook, Furman Sheppard	N. J.	Page, Matthew	Va.
Cralle, Alexander Ball	Va.	Paterson, John	Va.
Dent, Levi	Md.	Petersen, James B.	Ga.
Emerson, John	Pa.	Pfeiffer, Daniel Clark	Pa.
Fisher, John	Va.	Poole, William Cox	Pa.
Fithian, Hosea	N. J.	Porter, James Jefferson	Pa.
Gilliam, James Henry	Va.	Pratt, John T.	S. C.
Gilliam, Jonathan Peterson	Va.	Pressley, George W.	S. C.
Glenn, James R.	N. C.	Remington, Isaac	Pa.
Gregg, Richard	Pa.	Ridgley, Greenbury, Jr.	Md.
Grimes, Joseph William	Ga.	Ridgway, Charles	N. J.
Hatton, Edward	Va.	Rohr, Charles Henry	Pa.
Hay, James T.	Ga.	Scott, George Caile	Va.
High, Daniel	Pa.	Snow, Fisher James	Pa.
Holladay, James Littlepage	Va.	Speer, Alexander	Pa.
Hort, William Peter	Ga.	Standbridge, John C. B.	Pa.
Humphrey, Correl	N. Y.	Stone, John Richards	Va.
Hunt, Jacob	N. J.	Taliaferro, Roderick M.	S. C.
Hunter, David	Va.	Taylor, George B.	Pa.
Jackson, Alexander	Va.	Taylor, Robert	Pa.
Kennon, Richard	Va.	Thomas, Erasmus	Pa.
Knox, William Davies	Va.	Thompson, Samuel	Pa.
Lacey, Robert A.	Va.	Town, Richard	Pa.
Lewis, John Price	Pa.	Tuggle, Ransom	Ga.
Littell, Squier, Jr.	Ohio	Wallace, William S.	Pa.
Lloyd, Ephraim	N. J.	Warren, Joseph	S. C.
McDowell, Alexander	S. C.	Webster, James, Jr.	Pa.
Matthews, Caleb B.	Pa.	Williamson, George	Va.
Moberley, Eldred W.	Md.		

CLASS OF 1825

Abbett, Henry, Jr.	Pa.	Leyburn, Alfred	Va.
Beans, Silas Hough	Pa.	Lorain, Henry	Pa.
Boyd, James P.	N. Y.	Marselis, Isaac N.	N. Y.
Brinckerhoff, Isaac	N. Y.	Martin, Jacob L.	N. C.
Brinckerhoff, John, Jr.	N. Y.	Mercer, Leonidas B.	Ga.
Browne, Orris Applethwaite	Va.	Miner, Thomas W.	Pa.
Campbell, Gustavus Brown	Va.	Murphey, Andrews	Del.
Carey, Robert C. I.	Md.	Oliver, William W.	Va.
Claiborne, James B.	Va.	Parham, John G.	Va.
Cobbs, John L.	Va.	Phillips, Dabney P.	Va.
Comstock, Andrew	N. Y.	Ponsonby, William J.	Va.
Cox, James	Pa.	Powell, Llewellyn	Va.
Dennis, John E.	Va.	Price, Philip M.	Pa.
Denny, William H.	Pa.	Price, Smith M.	Pa.
Dickinson, James Philip	Md.	Ramsay, Joseph H.	S. C.
Dillard, Thomas	Va.	Rankin, James	Pa.
Doswell, Benjamin F.	Va.	Redd, Robert	Va.
Dunott, Justus	Del.	Roane, Lawrence A. W.	Va.
Fleming, George, Jr.	Va.	Sappington, John	Md.
Fox, Richard W.	Va.	Scott, William J.	Va.
Frazer, Abraham Carpenter	Pa.	Sharp, Jacob Sterne Thomson	N. J.
Friend, Alfred	Va.	Shaw, William Andrew	N. C.
Hahn, James Augustus	Pa.	Simmons, Robert Plunket	Pa.
Hamilton, Edward W.	S. C.	Smith, John Win	S. C.
Harding, Charles G.	Pa.	Smith, Thomas Tacey	Pa.
Harrington, William H.	Pa.	Speece, Charles	Va.
Heston, Gilbert	Pa.	Stephens,	
Hetich, George Augustus	Pa.	Thomas Peter Goolsby	Ga.
Hill, Richard	Va.	Stubbs, Randolph S.	Va.
Hill, Richard M.	Va.	Turner, John A.	Va.
Holmes, James	Ga.	Ward, John F.	N. C.
Hughes, Isaac Wayne	Pa.	Warren, William C.	Va.
James, Francis Marion	S. C.	Watkins, Claiborne Andrew	Ga.
Jones, David O.	Va.	Watkins, Thomas H.	Va.
Jones, Willie	N. C.	Webb, Silas	N. C.
Kern, Jeremiah B.	Pa.	Wilkins, William W.	Va.
Kerr, Robert Ewing		Willis, Lewis, Jr.	Va.
	District Columbia	Willis, William Taliaferro	Va.
Kerr, Samuel	N. C.	Yancey, Charles R.	N. C.
Law, John Stevens	Ga.	Yates, William	S. C.

CLASS OF 1826

Adams, Thomas J.	Va.	Moore, William B.	S. C.
Andrews, John	Ohio	Moseley, Samuel	Va.
Barham, George A. C.	Va.	Nicholas, Joshua	Va.
Baugh, Daniel, Jr.	Pa.	Overton, Thomas C.	Va.
Baughman, Jacob	Pa.	Park, Amasa F.	S. C.
Beckett, Edward M.	S. C.	Pennypacker, Jacob	Pa.
Bowman, David	Va.	Pleasanton, Samuel	Del.
Bruner, Isaac	Pa.	Prior, William R. T. B.	S. C.

Burrell, John W.	Pa.	Ralston, Samuel Finley	Pa.
Carroll, Daniel J.	N.Y.	Randolph, Charles	Pa.
Copland, Alexander	Va.	Reid, David Evander	S. C.
Coryell, William	N.J.	Robinson, Manuel Eyre	Del.
Craighead, John Boyd	Pa.	Sawyer, Matthias Enoch, Jr.	N.C.
Cunningham, John A.	Va.	Seal, William	Pa.
Davis, John Cox	N.J.	Sexton, Richard	Del.
Dickinson, Roger Quarles	Ga.	Shackelford, St. Pierre	Va.
Durant, Robert Reese	S. C.	Shallcross, Joseph	Pa.
Faulcon, John N.	Va.	Shepperd, James H.	N.C.
Fauntleroy, William L. E. W.	Va.	Shultice, William	Va.
Gilliam, James Thomas	N.C.	Smith, William	N.J.
Glatz, Jacob	Pa.	Somerville, Walter	Va.
Gregg, John	Pa.	Spark, William Alexander	Va.
Griffin, John Hook	Va.	Squibbe, Thomas J.	Del.
Groves, John R.	Tenn.	Stanbery, Edward	Ohio
Hall, Isaac	N.C.	Sykes, George Augustus	Va.
Hall, John Jefferson	Va.	Taylor, William Robert	Va.
Hardaway, Peter Manson	Va.	Tennent,	
Hubbard, Hopson M. (A. B.)	Ga.	Alexander W. (A. B.)	Va.
Hudson, Edward	Pa.	Terrill, George	Va.
Hughes, Edward	Ga.	Thomas, Joseph	Del.
Hunter, John	Va.	Thomas, Richard W.	N.C.
Hutchings, George T.	Va.	Trevor, Joseph	Pa.
Ingles, John, Jr.	Va.	Trimble, Isaac P.	Pa.
Jones, William Duke	N.C.	Urquhart, Richard A.	Va.
Jones, William Shaw	Ga.	Walker, Levi	N.C.
Keen, James	Va.	Walton, Harper	Pa.
Kollock, Phineas Miller	Ga.	Watkins, James Frederick	Ga.
Lathy, Henry Kent	Pa.	Weems, Mason Locke	Va.
Lea, Willis Monroe (A. B.)	N.C.	Witman,	
Lentz, Jacob	Pa.	Alexander Hamilton	Pa.
Luckett, Leven, Jr.	Va.	Willauer, Jonathan B.	Pa.
Meaux, Thomas (O?)	Va.	Wilson, Hugh	Va.
Meriweather,		Woodward, Charles	Pa.
Francis Thornton	Va.	Wright, Burton B.	Va.
Mifflin, George	Pa.		

JOHN ASKEW TO JONATHAN DICKINSON, (*Logan Papers*)LONDON, 23th mo. 1700/1HONEST JNO &
KIND FRIEND

I recd thine P^r Randell Jeney P^r Capt Street who Arived here about 10 Dayes since but in 5 weeks to Silly where he staid a week I thank thee for thy freindly and Intellidgeable Epistle I writt to the abt a month since P^r one Capt Howe bound for Maryland but was unfortunately cast away ab^t 7 Inst. on ye Island Garnsey the ship and all y^e Men and Passengers lost being about 75 in number Severall Passengers for Pensilvania was on Board in Pertigular W^m Robinson (Patt: soun) and his wife Eliz Beasley

I see thy sister this week who is well and Lusty looks much better than when in Jamaica Caleb had gott cold and was not very well else

that was his excuse being not out of his bed at a 11 o'clock I generally see him twice or three times a week at the Change or Coffee house I have not yet seen Ann Price but thy sister told me she and her Children are well ab^t a week since. Capt Rodgers is still here in town Prews husband but I suppose has little Communication wth his sister in Law —Ere now noe Doute thou hast y^e acct of thy Brother Gabishes Death in Jamaica—here was a Report y^t Capt Price was Dead but noe Confirmation to that

We have not yet had opertunity to spend thy Token by me I have desired thy sister to Chuse her time & meathod and Judge goeing to Grinadge would be a ps of diversion soe that y^e first fine Day we are to Imbark in a wherre & Dine there take a turne in y^e Park and soe home againe thy Cosens I think are well which are to accompany us and Ann Price if she please

As to Publick News our New Parlement sitts 6th next month the Duke of Anjoiu being Crowned King of Spaine pursuant to y^e Deceased Kings Will occasions much talk of a Warr we and y^e Dutch against france and Spaine old Lewis stands stiffly for his grandson y^e s^d Dukes Right and tis generally beleaved a warr is unavoidable

Puckle sails in a weeke or therabouts W^m trent & family comes in him Allsoe Tho: Morrey & tis Reported they will bring 15000 pounds of goods Trent 10000 and Tho: 5000 3 other ships of greater Burthen are up for Pensilvania Dewell I suppose will follow Puckle You are not like to want such nessasarys as England is Capable of furnishing you wth at your own prices this I intend via New England but uncerton shall enlarge P Puckle soe with Due Respects to thyself and wife sons and all my Frds and acquaintance as thou seest meatt I remain thy Reall Frd

JOHN ASKEW

My love to thy neighbour Sam^l & Rochell, I have packt thy wife and she each of yⁿ a small Token of a Cheshire Cheese In order to come P Puckle—

Corne wth is a great blessing to y^e numerous Poor is at Present very Cheap best wheate here at London on y^e keys at 3/9^d P bushell sold last and this week

We had soundings in 24 days but through Contrary winds was 5 weeks to anker at Plymouth whence I with Tho: M and Another came up by land as is my accustomed manner I was in my old trim at sea kept my Cabbin most of y^e voyage but we had seveare weather yett through Mercy mett with noe Damage Considerable save loss of severall of our sails.

J. A.

(Addressed)
To Jonathan Dickinson,
Mercht in Pensilvania,
these
via Boston.

LETTER OF MRS. R. BARCLAY TO MRS. DICKINSON. [*Logan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*]

MY VERY DEAR COUSIN!

If the Sympathy of an affectionate Friend can in any Degree alleviate thy Affliction, let it be my pleasing Task to pour the balmy Comfort into thy troubled Mind—how often have my Thoughts flown o'er the

great Atlantic, & how often has my Heart lamented the unhappy State of the once peaceful Colonies! nor is the present only the Subject of my Grief, my Mind anticipates yet more boisterous Storms which may spread Devastation over the British Empire, but I wish not too long to contemplate the gloomy Scene, for tho we are afflicted, let us not despair, if we make it our constant Endeavor, we doubtless shall obtain the Favour of that Almighty Power who can say to the troubled Waves, be still, or grant us Faith to keep our Feet from sinking—

Do, my dear Friend, write to me very soon, make me a Partaker in thy Suffering, if Suffering is yet permitted, however the world may frown, I hope Affection will never cease to cement our hearts—I wish to be informed how thy little Daughters pass'd thro that critical Disorder which carries numbers to their Graves—the Success which has attended Inoculation pleads much in favour of the Practice, but bitter Disappointment sometimes succeeds, of this we have lately had a most affecting Instance in the Removal of the Daughter of Isaac Sharpless, (a Friend eminent in the Ministry) as it was the young Woman's particular desire to undergo the Operation, her Parents at length gave way to her Entreaties, & they were deprived of an amiable & only Daughter who was the cheerful Companion of their declining Years.

My Husband desires me to acknowledge the Receipt of the Letter which was inclosed in thine, & directs me to request thee to convey his Respects to the Author, & to assure him, he shall make the best Use of the Information contain'd therein & that he thinks it best at this Juncture to postpone replying thereto.

We left our quiet Retreat a few Days ago & came to the hurrying City where I have had an Opportunity of seeing our valuable Friend Eliz Robinson, I intended a visit to Mary Leaver yesterday, but was informed at her Lodgings of her Departure.

Perhaps it may be pleasing to thee to see a Copy of the Letter address'd by a worthy Friend to the King on Acc^t of the unhappy Commotions in America, the Author was desirous of believing it herself, but an Interview on such an Errand being difficult to obtain, it was given to one of the Secretaries of State, who informed a Friend, that he had authority to say the Letter was deliver'd.

I could say much more, but night approaches & my Epistle must be concluded lest I loose the present Opportunity of sending it. Believe, my dear Cousin! that under every Trial I remain thy sincere Friend, present my Respects & best wishes to thy Husband, make them known to your tender Offspring when opening reason may teach them the meaning of such a Salutation,—remember me in the kindest manner to thy Aunt Betty & the rest of my Relations,—may you seek Shelter under the Wings of Omnipotence till these Calamities be overpast, then shall you not be afraid of the Terror by Night nor for the Arrow that flyeth by Day.

Once more let me tell that

I remain thy affectionate &

Sympathizing Frd

LONDON, 21st—6th mo. 75.

R. BARCLAY

My Brother John Lloyd is lately gone to Maryland, he intends being at Philadelphia at your Yearly Meeting & I gave him a few lines address'd to thee—I have many Fears on his Account, but I hope he'll be preserved thro every Trial.

LETTER OF JAMES PEMBERTON TO CAPEL & OSGOOD, [*Logan Papers Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*]

PHILAD^a, : Sep^r : 19th : 1766.

ESTEEMED FRIENDS,

Your Letter of 13th June, last to my Kinsman, Isaac Norris Esq^r Deceas'd, has been rec'd, with his Acco^t & curr^t Ballance in favour of his Estate being £111.. 17.. 3 Sterling, has been compared with the Entrys in his Books, and appear right.

My Couzins Polly and Sally Norris informs me, that a few weeks since, the rec^t of this Letter & Acco Curr^t was acknowledged on their behalf, at the same time acquainting you of the affliction they were under, by the Death of their affectionate & Honoured Father, on the 13th 7 m^o & July last, whose superior Qualifications, his Assiduity and attention to the Interest of the Province in his Station as Speaker of the assembly, for many Years successively, rendered him a serviceable member to the Community, and his Decease justly Lamented, the Loss of him particularly afflicting to his Daughters, his Relations and Family.

As he had not completed his last Will, and Testament, they as his only Children become Vested with the powers and Authority by Law, for possessing his Estate, and have undertaken the Administration, and their request, I herewith enclose you, their power of Attorney to Authorize you on their Behalf to obtain a proper transfer of his Interest, or shares in the Consolidated 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cent Annuities, in the Bank of England, from his Name into the Names of Mary and Sarah Norris, jointly, & to receive for them the Dividends as they become due, and pass the same to the credit of their Acco^t Curr^t with you, the power of Attorney is Executed before Capⁿ Samuel Nuttle, of the Ship Success, now bound for London, and his Mate David Hanly, who may be found at the Penns^a Coffee House, to make proof of its being Executed in their presence ; they intend another $\frac{1}{2}$ next Vessel, to be Executed before some persons resident in Great Britain, if such should be found, going from here.

Inclos'd is likewise a duplicate of the Letter of Administration, from our Register General's office, for Probate of Wills &c^a:—which our Attorney General looks upon to be sufficiently Authentic to Establish their power of Attorney to you.

Should these papers prove insufficient for the purpose, intended, I desire the favour of you, to forward to me $\frac{1}{2}$ the first Packet, or other suitable conveyance, particular information what mode will be necessary in order to accomplish the Business ; Our Lawyers here appearing to be at some Loss, for a perfect knowledge of the customary form of prosecuting matters of this kind, at the Bank of England, the transferrs of Interest or Shares in the Stocks, and Constituting Attornies, or Factors, for that purpose, seldom occurring here.

My kinswomen desire you to undertake the management of this Business, for them, & transmit me, as speedily as possible, an exact State of their Dear Father's Interest (now theirs) in the Bank, & such further information as to you may appear necessary, which will particularly oblige them ; they desire their respects to you,

And I am, on their behalf

To

Your respectful Fr^d

CAPEL & OSGOOD, Hanbury
London

JAM^s PEMBERTON

LETITIA PENN TO HANNAH FISHBORN, 1702.

*(Etting Papers)*WOR: y^e—18—⁶_{mo}; 1702

DEAR HANNAH

I hope thou wilt excuse my silence since it has been for want of opportunity sence I knew what to call thee or how to express myself; and now readily accept this to salut & desier for thee all ye happiness y^t state can afford, and dout not but in order to it thou hast y^e principal verbe, a very honest and good Companion I should have tooke kindly a few lines by this bearer and hope thou wilt sometime or other favour me so far, this may tell thee through Mercy wee are all well and with my Brother and Sister att poor Worninghurst y^t I have so often told thee of; theire Children are fine forward Children & tho I say it very handsome to; y^e boy like my father as can be, & the gurl not unlike, they designe over in y^e spring, & then I shall have a great loss, but not to cary both y^e Children, I hope this will find thee forward for a little one, & therefore something to putt it in may I hop not be unacceptable in order to which I herewith send thee a small present shall be glad if it pleases thee I am very senceable I am in debpt to thee for all thy kindness and shall be glad if att any time I can be servicable on this side of y^e water, I am shure none shall be more ready yⁿ her y^t is with kind Love to thy good parents to whom I lye under deep obligations & pray give it also to thy husband with thy sweet self pray remember me kindly to thy brothers & Cousins & all y^e Hoskenses

Thy affectionate & engaged
friend

L. PENN

BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT.—In the Norris Papers are several Account Books of the General Loan Office, bound in curious old wall-paper. In one of these the following paper was laid, connecting it with the appropriation afterwards made, probably at Franklin's suggestion,——

To the Overseers of the Poor :

There is several wife's and widdows I understand in town whose husbands are wounded & killed in the late defeat, they are destitute of all necessarys and many unable to support themselves & children—I want to speak with some of you on this subject for which I ordered the bearer to acquaint you yesterday

Yrs

WM. PLUMSTED.

8ber 4, 1755

(Endorsement)

I am of opinion that at the next meeting of the Assembly, Money may be allow'd for the Support of these poor sick women till they get well, for they are I think more properly a Provincial Charge than a City Charge.

B. FRANKLIN.

LETTER FROM JAMES LOGAN TO JOHN PENN.

PHILAD^a 17th Nov. 1729.

HONoured FRIND,

Tho' I have wrote largely to thee jointly with thy Brothers by J. Steal in a letter fit for him to see I must give thyself another on some particulars in which I cannot be so communicative ; & my hints shall be very short (for I really have not time to be otherwise) yet they may deserve thy notice & remembrance.

James as I have said in that letter has really a sincere hearty zeal for your interest & a good natural understanding, yet his Education did not allow it to be so enlarged as it might have been by greater advantages & therefore he may sometimes be short in Judgment—When he first came into my business he could not well bear advancement & was like to forget himself, but time & trouble (for he has been divers ways unfortunate) have brought him to a better sense which 'tis hoped he may keep up to—Where he is a friend he is too much so, & and the same the contrary way—few men in his eyes having both good & ill qualities, 'tho' 'tis the case of all mankind : Only I think he will do one the justice to allow I can be a crof fellow. Howev^r as he can & is disposed to serve you to his utmost he therefore ought accordingly to be regarded. He knows you^r Busenels & you cannot at present do without him.

I must next mention your Gov^t which some believe will be considered this next session of Parli^t If surrendered or taken, you should secure your Property while you hold it, for tis a thing of value & all ensuing Gov^{ts} should be laid under some direction to support it from unjust Encroachm^{ts}—otherwise you may suffer—If there be an Act of Parliam^t for a Resumption *that* will undoubtedly vacate or repeal all Laws & Charters for Frames & Models of Governm^t which the ministry will think necessary tis feared in our Case : because our Annual Elections of Assemblies, Sherifs &c without any writt established by a Law confirmed by the late Queen ; & indeed without such a Repeal the Crown would scarce hold any Governm^t here—But if that should happen 'tis a pity that Corporation Charters as for Philad^a & Chester, should be included, for that to this City is really of very great Service to the Publick, & under the Crown would prove much more necessary.

Next, as to Paper Money agst which neither J. Steel nor I dare say one word & I confes I have never been agst it so long as it's value is kept up by not exceeding in quantity. But I fear the popular Frenzy that now reigns will never stop till we are in as bad Credit as they are in New England where an oz of silver is worth 20 of their shillings, & then an English Sh^s of your Quitrents will be about three pence—They already talk of making more & no man dares appear to stem the fury of the popular rage. The notion is that while any man will borrow on a good Security of land more money should be made for them without thinking of what value it will be when made. They affirm that whilst the security is good the money cannot fall & if the Exchange rises to 200 'tis only the sterl^s money that rises for ours is still the same—I hope therefore some more effectual method will be taken than a Letter only from Secr^y Popple—The Kings own hand should forbid the Gov^t under the Penalty of his displeasure & the forfeiture of the Appointment—But I hope you will not let even the last Act be abrogated for the money being now out it would occasion the utmost distraction : & on

this head perhaps I may once touch again, tho' I shall now very speedily decline all Public Business forever—But on the necessity of putting a stop to it I cannot say more, & I now give thee these hints as of the highest importance to your Affairs.

I would also caution you agst private Applications—I am told some of you [I think Thomas & Richard] upon such an one have promised Cl: Plumstead a piece of land joining on A Hamilton's w^{ch} I formerly took great pains to save for you, & And^r is much disturbed at it for had he known how he would have got it himself—With what is your own however you must do as you please—Pray consider & know what you grant—perhaps others may be craving—You give you know not what—It may be time enough to do it here on the spot.

If thou shouldst name any Commis^{rs} there (which I heartily wish you not, for thou shouldst get full powers from thy Brothers & without delay come thyself) I can think of none so fit as Sam^l Preston one of your Trustees, Th: Griffiths (I. Norris' Son-in-law) who was in the last Commis^{ion} & either Pet^r Lloyd or Ralph Asheton. Peter is the better man but Ralph is your relation & his Father was in the last. He should be kept in your Interest in which some think him wavering, having business as a Lawyer from many of our Mobbish People—But Ja^s Steel will think it strange & unkind if he is not also one. If so S. Preston & Th: Griffiths sh^d be named before him at least & they two might have the making of Returns, but if P. Lloyd be named then all those three. I sh^d prefer Peter to Ralph on account of merit, if other considerations are not to prevail—They sh^d have 2½ if not 5 p^rC^t on all Sales of Lands—divided amongst them all, excepting J. Steel who I think ought to have 50 p^{ds} Ann. & 5 p^rC^t besides on all Quitrents he receives, in w^{ch} hitherto he has been much too negligent, or rather 7½ p^rC^t for Quitrents without the £50, but it is a troublesome business. The Collectors formerly had 10 p^rC^t but they took much more pains for it. I say 2½ p^rC^t amgst all the Commis^{rs} J. S. included—5 p^rC^t (as always) to those that receive from & Settle Acc^{ts} wth J. Steel & make returns, & the allowance to Ja^s as before; all other Charges & considerations for travelling ought also to be allowed the Commis^{ioners}.

But all this will be best settled by thyself here, & on this head I must crave leave to note what I lately read in an old Greek Sage who was once accounted the greatest Genius that Nature ever produced; viz^t. “that the Strength of mind decays with Age equally with the Body, which he uses as an Argum^t agst Magistrates being continued for life” & this I feel by sensible experience. Between 47 & 53 years of Age I have observed most peoples Sight begins to fail, & I think always the memory with the Sight tho constitutions exceedingly differ—I must therefore put thee in mind that thou wilt now very shortly enter upon the best & most vigorous ten years of life viz from 30 to 40 & I hope thou wilt not lose them, than which I need say no more—I have now enlarged much beyond what I intended—Be pleased to communicate this Letter to my worthy Friend your good Uncle S. Clement to whom I would gladly write, but cannot, & I hope he will excuse it.

Thou art sensible how this is designed & I hope will be accepted accordingly. I am with sincere Respect

thy Assured Friend

JAMES LOGAN.

OVER FIFTY YEARS MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—

To answer the query, "How many living members have you, who have exceeded *fifty years* of consecutive membership in your Society?" the following list was developed by the Librarian from the register of the Society.

Alexander B. Carver, November 13, 1848;
 Richard Ashhurst, March 12, 1855;
 Richard Randolph Parry, September 10, 1855;
 Sanderson R. Martin, January 12, 1854;
 Dr. Isaac Norris, June 13, 1859;
 Simon Gratz, July 25, 1859;
 Hon. James T. Mitchell, November 14, 1859.

STATE HOUSE BELL, PHILADELPHIA.—In the account rendered by Hugh Roberts to the Province of Pennsylvania, for sundry supplies to the State House and its bell, the following items occur:

1752, 10 mo. 24.	A large file for the cracked bell	2s. 6d.
1753, 5 mo. 29.	Oil for the bell	10
1753, 10 mo. 20.	1 very large brass Nob lock for Committee Room	18.

The whole account was certified to by Edward Woolley, carpenter, April 18, 1756, £73.17.—

JOHN ARBOE, of Bethlehem, Penna., whose death is announced in Henry Miller's *Staatsbote* of December 22, 1772, was born in Soerup Schleswig, in 1713, and came to Bethlehem in 1760, where he was agent for missions and filled other positions. He died December 11, 1772, after a short illness. "Er war," states the *Staatsbote*, "einer von dem Commission Zur Klarirung den Delaware an die Americanische Philosphia Society hatte ihn ohne sein vormissen in die zahl ihren Ehrenmitgliedern auf genommen."

FENSTERMACHER.—Among the Germans who came to Philadelphia on the ship Friendship, Capt. Alexander Thomas, last from Rotterdam, and qualified October 12, 1741, was Christian Fenstermacher. He was born April 14, 1697, in Meysenheim, Zweibrücken. For six years was butcher to Count von Daun, then went to Holland as a soldier, and on his return home, was made a Burger and married his first wife. She died at sea on the voyage to Philadelphia, where he settled. In May of 1749, he married second, Barbara, widow of Michael Leibert, and in 1762, removed to Lititz, Lancaster Co., where he died in 1768.

REGISTER OF MEMBERS AND THEIR CHILDREN, MORAVIAN CONGREGATION, Philadelphia, 1757.—

Alberger, Philip and Sophia	Metz, Henry
Attwood, Mary	Miller, Peter and wife
Bailey, Sally	Moore, Thomas and Mary
Becker, William and Ann Mary	Moore, Jenny

Brockden, Charles
 Buck, Elizabeth
 Cassler, Ludwig and Christina
 Creutz, Daniel and Margaret
 Dasser, Paul
 Dasser, Elizabeth
 Fenstermacher,
 Christmann and Barbara
 Franke, Jacob
 Franke, Maria
 Fritz, Sebastian and Elizabeth
 Gilbert, Margaret
 Goos, John Adam and Elizabeth
 Guest, Henry
 Halberstadt, ——— and wife
 Herrgut, John and Justina
 Heuman, John and Catharine
 Heyl, George and Susan
 Heyl, Barbara
 Heyl, Philip
 Heyl, Thomas
 Illig, John Philip and Amelia
 Irvin, Anna
 Johnson, Francis and wife
 King, Anna
 Kinzing, Abraham
 Krause, ———
 Loechler, George and Maria
 Loechler, Elizabeth
 Loescher, George
 Loescher, George Jr.
 Lock, Englebert
 Lock, Catherine
 Lyndall ——— and wife
 McCrackin,

Muenzer, Marx and wife
 Muenzer, David
 Muenzer, Mary
 Myrtilus,
 Christopher and Elizabeth
 Parsons, Juliana
 Parsons, Hannah
 Peter, Christian and Johanetta
 Peter, John and Elizabeth
 Pfeiffer, Franz and Margaretha
 Pfingstag, Michael and Rosina
 Pfingstag, Jacob
 Powell, Samuel and Martha
 Redman, Martha
 Schade, Matthew and wife
 Shilling, Mary
 Schlosser, George and Anna Maria
 Schwarz, Conrad
 Sturgeus, Cornelius
 Shuttehelm,
 John Adam and Margaretha
 Shuttehelm, Peter
 Sommer, ———
 Sprogel, ———
 Sprogel, Mary
 Stadler, Jacob and Mary
 Stein, Jacob
 Süssholtz, Adam
 Tanneberger, John
 Weber, Tobias and Margaret
 Weber, Susan
 Weiss, Jacob and Rebecca
 Weiss, Benedict
 Weiss, Ludwig and Christina
 Weisinger, Jacob and Barbara

*Children of Members.**Boys*

Brockden, Charles
 Cassler, John
 Cassler, William
 Cassler, Lewis
 Creutz, William
 Dasser, Henry
 Franck, Daniel
 Franck, Peter
 Fritz, John
 Herrguth, John H.
 Heyl, John
 King, Samuel
 King, James
 King, John

Girls

Alberger, Maria
 Attwood, Elizabeth
 Brockden, Mary
 Creutz, Johanetta
 Creutz, Maria
 Creutz, Elizabeth
 Franke, Elizabeth
 Fritz, Elizabeth
 Herrguth, Hannah
 Herrguth, Christina E.
 Heyl, Maria
 Heuman, Johanetta
 Heuman, Wilhelmina
 King, Susanna

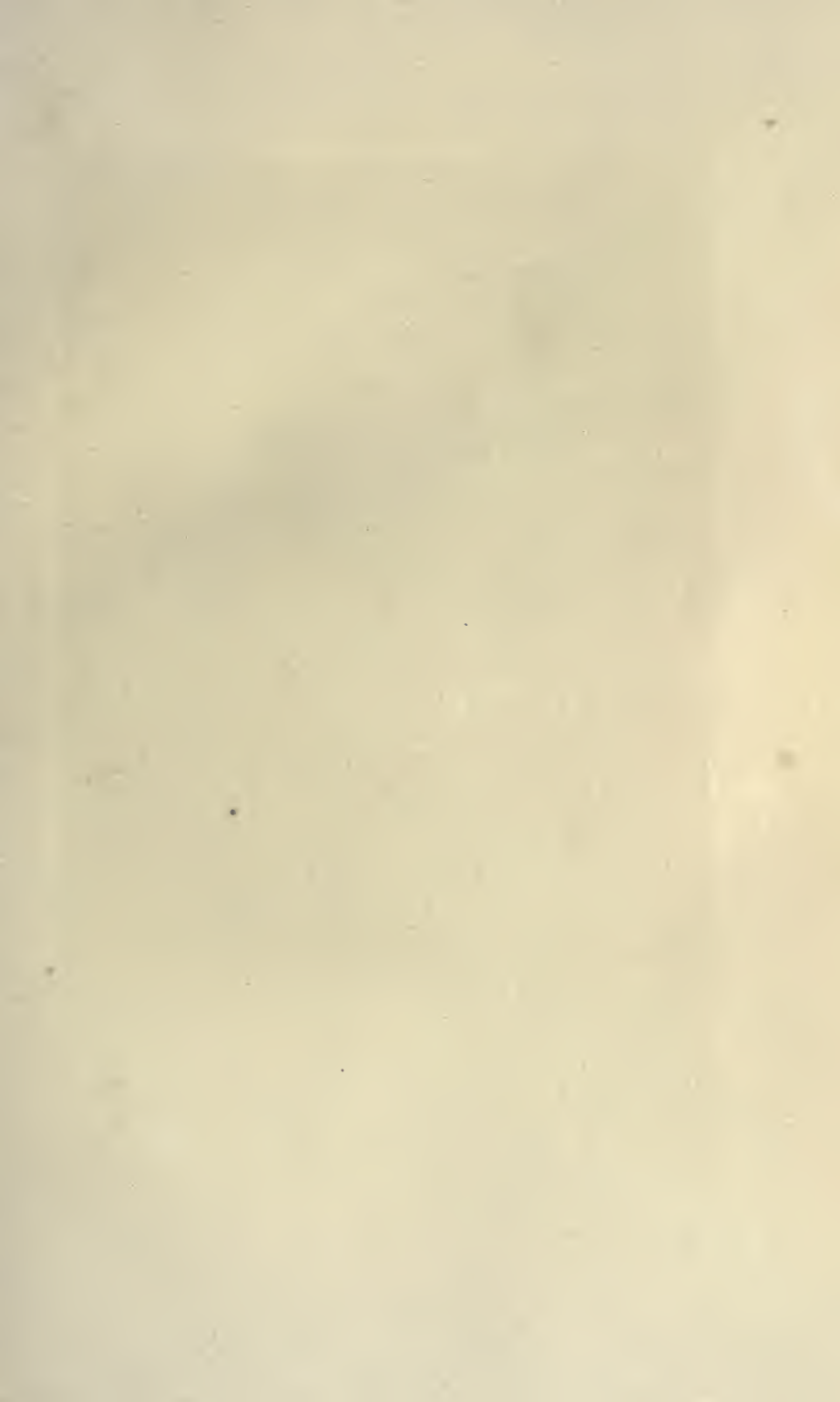
Loesher, William
 Loesher Franz
 Loesher, George
 Loesher, Jacob
 Loechler, Anton
 Loechler, Henry
 Loechler, John G.
 Metz, Conrad
 Moore, John
 Muntzer, Adam
 Muntzer, Joseph
 Muntzer, William
 Muntzer, Englebart
 Myrtetus, John A.
 Peter, John
 Schlosser, Ernst
 Stadler, Robert
 Shuttehelm, Christian
 Shuttehelm, John
 Weiss, Jacob
 Weiss, Peter
 Weber, Jacob
 Werne, William

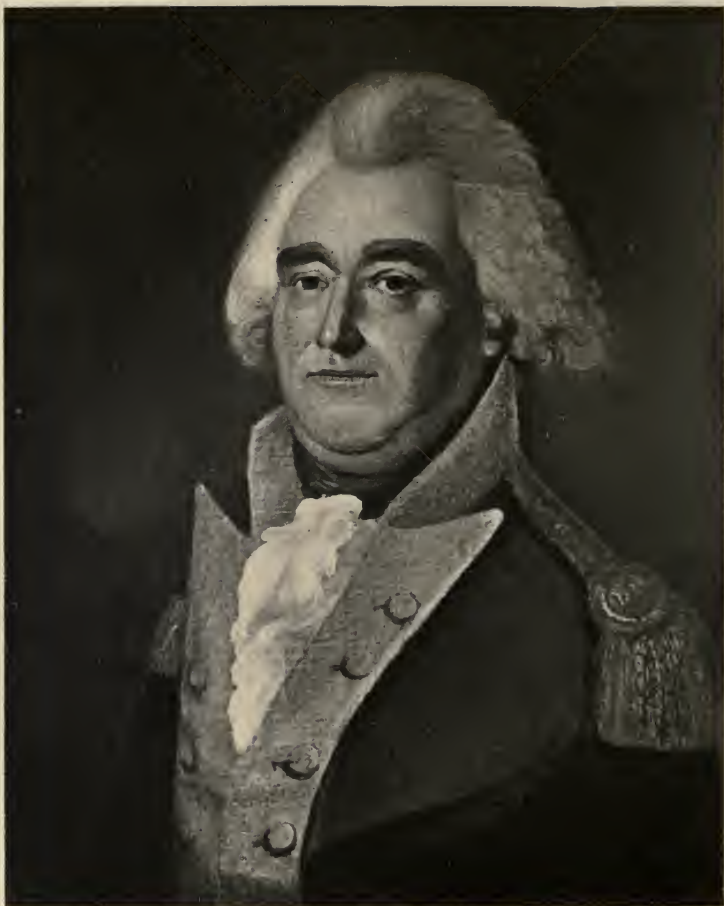
Loechler, Anna E.
 Loechler, Justina
 Moore, Martha
 Moore, Fanny
 Muntzer, Barbara
 Muntzer, Sarah
 Muntzer, Catherine
 Pfeiffer, Margaret
 Peter, Juliana
 Peter, Elizabeth
 Schlosser, Mary M.
 Schloeser, Anna M.
 Schwarz, Susanna
 Shuttehelm, Elizabeth
 Stadler, Mary
 Tanneberger, Barbara
 Weiss, Rebecca
 Weiss, Elizabeth } Jacob
 Weiss, Anna
 Weiss, Elizabeth (Benedict)
 Weber, Elizabeth
 Weber, Maria
 Weber, Anna

Book Notices.

SAINT JOHN'S REFORMED CHURCH OF RIEGELSVILLE, PA. Showing the development and growth of the congregation from its organization in 1849 to January 1, 1911, Privately printed for B. F. Fackenthal, Jr., Riegelsville, Pa., 1911. 8vo. pp 221. Illustrated.

The Durham Iron works, established in 1727, gives the name to the township in which the village of Riegelsville, Bucks county, Penna., known over a century ago as Shank's Ferry, is located. Saint John's Reformed congregation, founded over sixty years ago, has very fortunately a historian, whose delving among its archives, has resulted in showing its development and growth, as well as adding a list of its pastors and officers, and an alphabetical list of all its members, past and present, with biographical notes. The founding of the Riegelsville Academy and Public Library, with some account of the Union Cemetery, aid in making the book a valuable contribution to local history. The illustrations are numerous and add interest to the text.





MAJOR GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES
FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTED IN 1796, BY HENRY ELOUIS

PRESENTED TO THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA
BY MRS. JOSEPH W. DREXEL 1910

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XXXV.

1911.

No. 3

ANTHONY WAYNE
PRESENTATION OF HIS PORTRAIT
TO
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA
ON BEHALF OF MRS. JOSEPH W. DREXEL
May 9, 1910
BY CHARLES HENRY HART.

AT the annual meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, held in its Hall on the evening of May 9, 1910, the President, Honorable Samuel W. Pennypacker, read the following letter from Charles Henry Hart, Esq.:—

PHILADELPHIA, May 4, 1910.

HONORABLE SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,

President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR:—

It is with great pleasure that I am the medium for presenting to the society, on behalf of Mrs. Joseph W. Drexel, the important and valuable original portrait of General Anthony Wayne, painted from life, in 1796, by Henry Elouis. I learned that this portrait was in Washington, D. C., and knowing how desirable it would be for the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, brought it to the atten-

tion of Mrs. Drexel, who, in the most generous and charming manner, secured the portrait to hang upon your walls. If agreeable to you I will make a formal presentation of the portrait at your annual meeting on May 9th. I am, with distinguished consideration, my dear Governor,

Faithfully,

CHARLES HENRY HART.

The President then introduced Mr. Hart, who said :

It is my high privilege and distinguished honor to present to you on behalf of Mrs. Joseph W. Drexel, a lineal descendant, in the third generation, from Thomas Wharton, the first Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, and a lady of keen historical instincts and an intelligent love of art, as rare as it is good, which are plainly evidenced by her gracious gift to-night, an original portrait, painted from life, of General Anthony Wayne, the most illustrious soldier Pennsylvania has given to the nation, and by leading authority considered the most eminent general of the Revolutionary War. This portrait was painted in the year that Wayne died, by Henry Elouis, a French émigré, and its existence was unknown to historical students until recently discovered by me in Washington, D.C. When I first saw this canvas it was in a deplorable condition, having been carelessly painted over until the original was almost lost to view, but all this foreign matter has been skillfully removed and the portrait restored to its original state, until now we have the most characteristic and interesting portrait of Anthony Wayne that exists. The type of face is generally similar to the portraits of Wayne painted by Charles Willson Peale, in the State House at Philadelphia, and by Edward Savage, in the New York Historical Society. But Peale and Savage show in their portraits Wayne's obesity as predominant, while the more artistic and deep seeing Frenchman has preserved the strong and clear cut features that speak commandingly for the man of force and action that we know Wayne to have been.

These three portraits of Wayne, by Elouis, Peale and Savage, differ wholly and entirely from the commonly familiar profile picture of him, in a cocked hat, called "the Trumbull portrait of Wayne." But the authenticity of this last named picture, as a portrait from life, is exceedingly doubtful. The original is at best a small miniature, about one inch in height, in a crowded group of American officers, in the painting by Trumbull, of the Surrender of Cornwallis, in the Yale Gallery of the Fine Arts, at New Haven, Conn.; and consequently all the engravings and life size paintings of Wayne, of this type, are merely enlarged copies of this supposed portrait, vamped up to suit the taste of the copyist, whether painter or engraver, and are, therefore, only ideal heads. It is well to bear in mind in considering this question, that there is no other and separate painting or drawing known by Trumbull, of Wayne; that the so-called Trumbull portrait of Wayne is found only in the grouped historical composition mentioned.

The identification of the authorship of the present portrait is most interesting. What may be called the scarcest engraved American historical portrait is a large mezzotint, (17.14 x 13.13) by George Graham, that was published in Philadelphia, June 1, 1796, by Freeman & Co. It is of Anthony Wayne after this painting by Henry Elouis. Of the only two known impressions of this print, one is in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and before us to-night. In it Wayne is represented, as you will see, at three-quarter length, standing, in full uniform, with the order of the Cincinnati on the lapel of his coat. His right hand rests upon a parchment, marked "TREATY," on a table, while in his left hand he holds his sword at his side. Above the table is what appears to be a window or base, with column and curtain, upon which is a garlanded Indian pipe-of-peace. The canvas must have been painted between Wayne's coming to the East from his Indian campaign, in February, 1796, and his return to the North-west, in June of the same year, to take possession, for the United

States Government, of the posts at Detroit, Niagara and Presque Isle, from which he never returned, dying at Erie, Pa., on December 15, 1796. According to a certificate written by Colonel J. J. Abert, U.S.A., dated March, 1850, which is affixed to the back of the canvas, this portrait was painted for Major Caleb Swan, who was appointed Paymaster-General of the United States army a month later than Wayne was commissioned Commander-in-Chief, and who was very closely attached to Wayne. Major Swan died Nov. 20, 1809, leaving a widow, who was Colonel Abert's eldest sister, and one daughter. The widow Swan married W. W. P. Bryan of Philadelphia and the daughter became the wife of George Allan Magruder, U.S.N., when the portrait of Wayne was given to Colonel Abert, he having first seen it in 1808, at his brother-in-law's house in Washington, when seeking appointment as cadet to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. Colonel Abert died in 1863, and the portrait passed to his son Mr. Charles Abert, who died in 1897, and it was sold in the settlement of his estate. As stated in the certificate, Colonel Abert did not recollect the name of the artist who painted the portrait, only that he was "celebrated"; and we learn who the artist was by his name upon the engraving, by Graham, before us.

Jean Pierre Henri Elouis or, as he called himself in this country, Henry Elouis, was born in Caen, France, January 20, 1755, and died there December 23, 1840. He was destined for medicine but he sought art and studied under the French painter Jean Barnard Restout, going to London in 1783, where three years later he won the Royal Academy silver medal for drawing of the human figure. He exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1785, 1786 and 1787 and at the beginning of the French Revolution emigrated to America, settling in Maryland, where Charles Willson Peale met him in 1791, at Annapolis, and, calling him "Mr Loise," mentions that "he paints in a new stile," querying sharply, "if this gentleman so cried up will do better than Mr. Pine

whose reputation was equally cried up.”¹ In 1792 Elouis removed to Philadelphia and his name appears in the Directories for 1793, “limner 201 Mulbery;” for 1794, “portrait painter 106 No. Front;” and for 1799, “miniatures 1 So third.” While in Philadelphia he gave instruction in drawing to Eleanor Custis and painted miniatures of Washington and of Mrs. Washington. Unfortunately his miniature of Washington is unknown to us, but a beautiful ivory of Mrs. Washington, by Elouis, is in the unique collection of miniatures belonging to Mrs. Drexel, your benefactor. In this connection the following letter from Elouis to Washington, preserved in the Library of Congress (Vol. 79, No. 101), is of particular interest. It is written from “No. 9, 8th Street at the Wax Works.”

“PHILADELPHIA July 20, 1793.

“Perhaps, Sir, you do not recollect my name? I teach drawing to Miss Custis. I have been recommended by Mrs. Stuart and I have had the honour last winter to take your likeness in miniatur. It is not entirely finished having been much disturbed and wishing to make a well finished picture I shall wait till my mind is in a more quiet situation.

“P. S. If you are pleased to favor my petition (for \$80), I shall cease from that instant to receive the two guineas per month that I receive for the lessons I give Miss Custis.”

The answer to this application is found, under the same date as the letter, in Washington’s Household Account-book, belonging to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania: “Sent to Mr. Elouis by the President’s order as a loan in consequence of application \$80.”

Filled with a spirit for adventure, Elouis travelled over the United States, Mexico and South America, making many explorations with Humboldt, and in 1807 returned

¹ Wharton’s *Heirlooms in Miniatures*, p. 100.

to France, leaving behind him a great many pictures, "particularly at Havana and Philadelphia where he remained the longest. At Philadelphia particularly, he painted many of the illustrious persons of the Revolution, among others the celebrated Washington."² In 1811 he was made Curator of the Museum of his native town, which office he held until his death, at the age of eighty-five, a term of nearly thirty years. His portraits were noted for their simplicity and directness, qualities very apparent in the portrait of Wayne. Doubtless the "new Stile" that seems to have ruffled the equanimity of Peale was Elouis's realistic boldness and ruggedness of manner which was in strong contrast with Peale's somewhat mechanical smoothness in painting.

The portrait of Anthony Wayne, by Elouis, is unquestionably an original portrait painted from life, as it possesses every quality and requirement of a life portrait. As will be seen, it is of life size, in full uniform, but whether it has been cut down from a larger canvas showing the figure and details given in the engraving or whether the engraving is an elaboration of the bust portrait by the engraver, a not uncommon practice in making plates, we do not know, but, from its unusual size, 20 x 25 inches, I am inclined to think the former, particularly as the background, in the lower left corner, shows some detail meaningless in a bust portrait but which would be a part of the background of the larger painting. However this may be there can be no doubt but that the head and bust in the engraving are from this identical portrait and it can be accepted as the finest delineation of the captor of Stony Point and victor at Fallen Timbers that exists. One notable difference between the painting and the engraving will be observed. That is the absence of the order of the Cincinnati from the painting. A simi-

² Notice sur M. Elouis professeur de dessin de l'école communale et conservateur du musée de la villa de Caen. Par M. G. Mancel. Caen. 1841.

lar difference will be noticed in Savage's painted and engraved portraits of Washington and of Wayne as also in the portraits of some other Revolutionary characters. In the permanent painted portraits the order is omitted, while in the more ephemeral engravings it has been introduced. I will leave the solution of this problem to others, and the portrait of Wayne to you.

At the conclusion of the presentation the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania be extended to Mrs. Joseph W. Drexel for her important and valuable gift of an original portrait of Major General Anthony Wayne painted from life, in 1796, by Henry Elouis, and that in appreciation of said gift the Council of the Society be recommended to elect Mrs. Drexel an Honorary Member of the Society.

Subsequently Mrs. Drexel was elected an Honorary Member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by the Council.

LETTERS OF JAMES LOGAN TO THOMAS PENN AND
RICHARD PETERS.

[The following letters of James Logan have recently been added to the "Logan Papers" in the Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

"JAMES LOGAN TO THE PROPRIETOR T. PENN, ESQ."

STENTON, 31 Aug. 1733

MAY IT PLEASE THE PROPRIET

This being y^e day of the monthly Meeting both J. N. & S. P. will probably be in town & therefore if they have due Notice with the rest, the Commiss^{rs} may meet between 3 & 4 Aftern. before which time I propose to be in town. But I Shall here previously observe, that Since I return'd home from thence, I have more reason to doubt of my own ability to undertake the expedition on my own part, for I find my limb so extreemly weak that the least wrong motion very much disorders it, & and getting into & out of a boat with my being So long in it carries a good deal of danger wth it of having me laid up again and this amongst Strangers. But if there were a likely hood of my Presence being of Service Sufficient to counterballance the oddness of my appearance where there Seems no absolute necessity for it, I would run any hazard that could rationally be accounted for. Thou knows my first thoughts on this meeting, & having mention'd my Second on y^e Apprehension of what measures those of the other side might take, both I Nor., I found, and A. Ham. think it impossible. I shall Say more however when there, but pray Speak thy Self to A. Ham. thou knows my opinion of the importance of that man, and of the wrong Conduct of others as well as his: to rectify all which y^e utmost endeavours, I think, ought to be used. My wife is in hope to be in time for y^e Meeting

Thy faithful friend

J. LOGAN.

"JAMES LOGAN TO THE PROPRIETOR."

MAY IT PLEASE Y^E PROP^R

The affair of Maryl^d w^{ch} has taken up our thoughts being for y^e present dispatch'd that of the Indians will next require them, and particularly the managem^t of him at Conestogo, w^{ch} I take to be of importance Since 'tis very probable the others may send for him for information, and as we know his Malice & Treachery & that he can speak to them without an Interpreter, unless some precaution be used, he may be mischievous. I began this morning to write a Lett^r to Lancaster on the Subject to be sent by a hand that is to go in an hour or two, but found the method was but very little to be depended on, and it might prove much more effectual to have P. L. go up, yet I thought this should be concluded, before the opport^{ty} of Sending were lost. My Chaise is out of town otherwise I would have come up myself to thee. I doubt my son mistook the Message.

Thy faithful friend

J. LOGAN.

18th 7^{br}

"JAMES LOGAN TO THE PROPRIETOR."

STENTON 21st 10^{br} 1733

MAY IT PLEASE THE PROPRIET^R

I think it was the 9th Inst^t, when thy Self and A. Ham. agreed here on a Lett^r to be Sent to the Gov^r of Maryl^d, and indeed I was in hopes he would have had it by this time: but I now See it is as yet only in y^e draught.

This I have read over, and as I doubt not but the manner of bringing on the Subject has been well consider'd, I cannot Say, but it is as well done this way and probably better, than any other. I shall however make some few remarks. pa. 1 near y^e middle at this note 1 the words *or their Possessions* without any restriction I doubt is too comprehensive, for it may take in (in their Construction) Cressop and all Such others, and I find it extreemly difficult to express the

thought in any safe terms, but believe it might be thus—
disturbing yo^r People in any of their Possessions or Settlements
made consistently with any Amicable Agreement between the Pro-
prietors, or somewhat to that purpose.

line penult. *at a greater distance from Mr Heath's Plantation.*
 I St. may Say & think so, but unless there be a real certainty in this I conceive tis unsafe to Say it here, notwithstanding what follows in the last line: therefore what if it were *but, as it is affirmed, rather at a greater distance or something like this according to the degree of certainty that there is of the fact.* & Pray let y^e words *as I am well assured it is in y^e last line be consider'd.*

Pa. 2 l. 8. *lying upon the Bay of Delaware.* The words in y^e Ord^r if I remember right are, *on the Ocean and y^e Bay and River of Delaware* and again the other half *on the Bay of Chessapeak*, it might I think be proper here to insert the very words, for they Seem to me to give us an Advantage, but this is not very material.

Pa 2 In A H's interlineation, I should rather choose to **say** which tis generally *believed would extend—considerably further*

l. 12 the Interlineation or instead of *informed* because y^e word is used just before *as far as I can learn* I think Should Stand

to line 15 might be added *and this Restriction has of late years been even inserted in our Warrants for Lands near Such places.* and if at any time any further excursions have been made it was never with the approbation of this Governm^t. This addition I take to be necessary and that all that follows may be left out to the words *This with y^e Agreement* in lin. penult. for I have reason to believe that neither the People nor our Surveyors have been cautious enough on these heads And it may be of very ill consequence to lay down a Rule in Writings on our own side, w^{ch} from real facts they may be able to turn agⁿ us.

P3 l.6 instead of *I am firmly persuaded*, might it not be *We are fully persuaded here*

P4 14 in the interlineation instead of *about Conestogoe* I think *on or near Sasquehannah* would be Safer. for no Province can be meant here but Maryland and it should never be mention'd that they have any thing to doe with or can come near Conestogoe.

I See Care has been taken, and perhaps thoughtfully, to avoid mentioning that as there is no penalty incurr'd on either Side, the Agreem^t is Valid, and for Ought I know it may be best to avoid it at this time, tho' I own I cannot form a Judgem^t on it, and therefore shall leave it. I should certainly have given a broader hint of it, yet possibly it might have been wrong. I well know that A H can judge strongly in Such cases.

In the last Linè but two, I think I should venture to say *as to have the Lines actually run, so as to render the bounds indisputable.*

These few notes are what has occur'd to me. I wish heartily it were dispatched.

To run over the other Draught & Amendm^{ts} now, would detain y^e bearer too long, therefore I choose only to Send this by him. You left me when last here with a heavy Cold on me, of w^h I am at length got pretty well rid & my nose has for some dayes been reduced to its former Size and colour. Would this Weather continue 2 or 3 dayes I would endeavour to come to town as I hope I shall y^e fore part of next week but that the Lett^r will before that time be dispatch'd. I refer what I have noted to consideration hoping that nothing I have offer'd will occasion the detention of it one hour. My family are generally in health and with all our due respects I am

Thy faithful fr^d

J. LOGAN.

“JAMES LOGAN TO THE PROPRIETOR.”

MAY IT PLEASE THE PROPRIET^R

Tho' I had lately for good reasons resolved to hearken to no future Applications which some ignorant honest people

are still apt to make to me, that from my knowledge of their case, I would recommend them. Yet I really thought it incumbent on me, upon one from John Hore last 7th day, to put the Gov^r in mind of what had pass'd on that head. And as J. Steel Sent me John's Lett^r I inclosed mine for the Gov^r to him, that he might deliver it and receive his Answ^r. The Request to me was, that as the favour design'd for John was groundd on the Propriet^r Direction, the Application should be renew'd to thee, but as I thought thy Lett^r left at Newcastle for the Govern^r was sufficient, I would not give thee any further trouble in it. Yet his answer being different from what might have been expected, I have now desired J. Steel who has my Copy of that Lett^r, to wait on thee with it, that if thou thinks thy Self at all concern'd in what past, proper measures may be taken in it, and there I entirely leave it.

And tho my Experience of the world has abundantly taught me, what common Prudence should teach every man, that no degree of Zeal will justify another's interposing in Affairs (tho' tis extream hard to check a true Zeal for the public Peace in an honest breast) any longer than he has reason to expect it may be of Some Service, nor will any goodness of Intention excuse the man who renders himself disagreeable, yet I cannot forbear this once more to hazard some censure, and observe that I had great hope, after our Commissioners for the Division Lines had in Nov^r last Spent near a fortnight at Newcastle not only with the most hearty Zeal, but the greatest Unanimity to the best purposes in their power, for yours and the Countrey's Service And the Gov^r with those about him were Settled in their Authority. We should all unite amongst our Selves, and for our own Strength cultivate Peace and a good Understanding: in order to which I advised to one Step with as much good Judgem^t I will venture to affirm, as was ever exerted, by me at least, in any of those, the fruits of which these Gentlemen have for Several years reap'd to their ease and

Advantage, could my Advice to them have taken the Same place it formerly had done when it was believed & found necessary. But on the contrary, it appears that instead of such happy effects, that Step, as if it were wholly mine is never to be forgiven me. Had it been otherwise, and could my Wishes have prevailed, it would be needless now for me to mention, that I understand the Gov^r is going this week down to Newcastle^o to meet the Assembly there, of which A. H. is Speaker, and that I well know by many repeated expressions, I have my Self heard, that some would be less uneasie than they ought, to See things goe wrong, provided they could load another whom they dislike with the blame of it. How far A H may think himself under Obligations to the Gov^r, others will judge, but of this I am well assured that he heartily desires the peace of those Counties, and that they may be Secured in yo^r Interest. And I as well know that if the People there should take an unhappy turn, it would not be in his power, tho he can doe a great deal to prevent it. Nor, as I have formerly hinted more than once, are any professions of the Populace, or marks of respect once paid, to be at all depended on, not only history, but common observation abundantly confirms this. But I am very Sensible that those who hint their Apprehensions of danger which afterw^d appear not, are frequently but ridicul'd for it Yet it have ever been a Rule with me, that all who are intrusted with the powers of Governm^t should carefully watch all possible dangers that may arise from any quarter and guard agst them, and if they never happen, 'tis well, the Caution did no harm, and was not the less prudent, but if they should, without any Such provision the person's want of Conduct will then infallibly be arraign'd. And for my own part I have seen So much fickleness and Such humours prevail in those Counties that I shall never be without apprehension of them, till they are effectually Settled.

Of A H thou fully knows my Sentim^{ts} both wayes, and they are not likely to alter he would gladly Serve thee I be-

lieve in an acceptable way, tho' he is but too often unhappy at finding it, w^{ch} is to be imputed to the one Side of his Character, while the better Still continues in its ful Strength. Upon the whole thou wilt consider whether on this occasion it will not be proper to enter into some open and free discourse with him, as also with the Govern^t. I have not seen Andr. Since we came together from Chester, but hearing my Sister in law Pemberton is ill, and that a Ship is to Sail this week for Lond I think to be in town to morrow. I am with due respect

Thy faithful friend

J. LOGAN

STENTON 18th Mar. 173 $\frac{3}{4}$

"JAMES LOGAN TO RICHARD PETERS."

MY GOOD FRIEND R. P.

I return thee my hearty thanks for the uncommon pains thou hast taken to Serve my Overseer to day (in his 4th Journey to town Since y^e Prop^r was here) in that Small affair of his Land, about which he has So long Since applied to thee and am truly Sorry that Some others have taken it into their head to render it So difficult. but as I presided in those affairs my Self above 30 years, & may boldly challenge all mankind to give one instance of my partiality in them, and I hope my Judgem^t is clear enough yet, to form just notions of them, if I am not widely misinformed in the matter, I cannot, as it is now represented to me, comprehend where the Objection can lie. One Valentine, as I am told, presumptuously enter'd on y^e Proprie^rs Land without making any manner of Application for it & having possess'd himself of it for Some time deserted it, & thereby left it clear for the next comer, but the Prop^r before he grants it away to another, desires according to the just rules he has prescribed to himself, to be Satisfied whether any other pson has an equitable claim to it, the Dep^{ty} Surv^r Sayes Somebody Spoke to him for it when he was last up there, the

Surv^r Gen^l Says, another who took out a Warr^t for Some Land in y^e forks of Delaware cannot have it there, & this place might Suit him probably in its Stead W^m Allen thinks, N. Irish when he was last in town desired him to apply for a Warr^t for it but he forgot it & wishes the matter might be deferr'd till he comes to town again to know whether he really wants it, and it is not to be admitted that W: A: would do any reasonable Service to oblige a person he is in Some other respects So deeply engaged with, any more than it is strange that R Peters Should have all possible inclination to oblige So good a friend, but we both know that Gent to be of too generous a disposition to desire any partiality to himself that carries an injustice to another, and R P. very well knows that Tho: Armstrong's application to him was prior to all these and I also know that upon his apprehensions that Some other might intervene and disappoint him, about 3 months Since he requested me to lend him as much money as might Serve to make the first paym^t, but that being a commodity very Scarce with me at that time, for I would freely have advanced it to him could I have by any means Spared it, I desired him to be easy and I should take to Secure the Land for him, and accordingly I Spoke to the Prop^r the next time that I Saw him here, but was answ^d that by an unalterable Rule in y^e Office nothing would purchase a Warr^t but the Money down, I then immediately Spoke to thy Self and had thy kind promise to lay it down of thy own for him, but I fail'd in my Duty I find in not mentioning it to J Steel but one reason was that I had not Seen him for Sev^l Months, and another, that I thought James only acted as Recvr in these cases. Upon the whole, if I have Stated y^e matter right, as I have done it to y^e best of my knowledge, I do not see from all the experience I have ever had, that there can be room left for any manner of Objection to the granting a Warr^t, and if there be none w^{ch} thou wilt Soon find on Shewing this (w^{ch} I request thee to do) to y^e Prop^r and this

will excuse thee from all further blame, on thy hinting it to morrow evening to my Son, he will bring thee the Money or J St:’s or L Lardner’s Receipt for it as also a Patent for my Liberty Land, to w^{ch} I request thee to get the Prop^r’s hand. James made an objection to the Quittrⁱ of one penny Sterl for those 50 Acres of Streiper’s Land in right of his 5000 A’s reduced to 1 Sh fethous^d on pretence of the Law for Quittr^{ts}. But as I not only drew that Act at first my Self, but contested it by Paragraphs at Sev^l Conferences, for that alone cost us in y^e Council, where the burthen lay Solely on me, more trouble than almost all the other 49 that were passed by that Assembly, I have good reason to understand y^e whole design of it, The whole q^{ty} of Lib^{ty} Land laid out in that Right is but 50 Acres without any manner of Division being made in it, and as by y^e first Concessions the Purchasers were to take only 500 A’s in one Tract without more families joyning for w^{ch} y^e Quittrⁱ by Streiper’s Purchase was only to be 6 pence, and in the City Liberties only 50 Acres (for which I have the Proprietors Ord’ under his own hand) were allowed to that Purchase as being Posteriour in time, there cannot possibly be any pretence for insisting on more than in proportion to the whole, besides since it is that Law only that gives any colour for it, if the Enacting Paragraph (p. m. 73) preceed^s that Proviso in the Act be considered Such a Demand will be found directly contrary to the express intention & even the words of the Law But I have already Said more than can be necessary on this head & therefore shall here close with Sincere respect

Thy Assured friend

J. LOGAN

STENTON, Augst 15—41

In relation to that Act for Quittr^{ts} I must add that having drawn it very different from what it now appears it was re-

turned to the Board with Such a number of Alterations that I absolutely despaired of it but divers members of the Council being then on y^e Assembly they were unwilling to let it drop & 4^{fore} after very warm debates in 2 Conferences we at length carried it as it now appears.

P S Augst 16th

Tho' I have reason to be offended with Ja: Steel, yet I could heartily wish the Propriet^r, unless he proposes in Some little time to part with him altogether, would Shew a greater, regard to his Circumstances for I know by long experience that 200^{lbs} a year which James mentioned to me when here with his wife this day week as in Confidence to his old true friend will not be Sufficient to maintain his family with a Boarder who ought to be handsomely provided for and defray all manner of Expences besides Treat comers and goers &c &c.

JAMES LOGAN TO ISAAC TAYLOR.

PHILAD^a S M 23-1724

MY FFRIEND ISAAC TAYLOR

This will Scarce give thee (I believe) the first acco^t of my Arrival here on y^e 16th Inst^t exactly 9 months after I left my own house. I have brought the Drugs with me which lie here ready for thee.

The Bearer Jn^o Garret applying to me for 100 Acres of Land in Letitia's Mann^r part he Sayes of a Lott of 500 I have declined the Grant till I can learn from thee whether it can be cutt off without any damage to the Remaind^r, if it may pray lett it be So divided but then he must immediately come for an Ord^r of Survey and bring y^e Pay w^{ch} I have told him must be 45^{lbs} in ready Paper. I am with kind Love to thy Self & family

Thy real friend

JAMES LOGAN

JAMES LOGAN TO ISAAC TAYLOR.

PHILAD^{IA} 25th 7^{br} 1724.

ISAAC TAYLOR

LOVING FRIEND

Inclosed is the Bill of Parcels for the Drugs thou desired, the advance in our Current Specie is 125 ³/₄ Cent, as we generally sell I know not how Gold may be with you but it is somewhat scarce with us and I have occasion for some at present, particularly the Sum of £13:12:4 w^{ch} if thou canst procure for me, I will pay thee in our best Paper £15:6:4½ for it.

The over large quantity of Paper Bills that have been struck throw us into very great Inconveniencies w^{ch} I fear will daily increase upon us, Yet we have here amongst us parcel of unreasonable necessitous Creatures that are Still for having much more of it, and at easier terms the consequences of which would be the utmost Confusion, for besides the Inconveniencies to y^e Countrey that would ensue if Such an Act Should pass It is most certain that nothing of the kind for the future can be offered in Engl^d for the King's Sanction, but it will inevitably be repealed, and then if any of it should be issued we should be in y^e utmost Confusion

Yet we have no security against this but from the Counties of Chester & Bucks at the ensuing Elections. I very well know thy Interest in yours, and doubt not, but thou wilt employ it to thy utmost even during thy Weakness, to secure us from the dangers that threaten, I hear some have thought of I. N. there, but are apprenensive that he will be for charging foreigners wth a Duty on their Trade, but in this case I dare boldly & will freely pass my word for him, that he will attempt nothing of the kind. The electing of him with 7 other Stanch hands with him would at this time be of vast Service and I heartily wish thy state of health & Inclinations would allow thee to make one of the

number. The business of this Assembly may be very soon dispatch'd by proper persons. I most Seriously recommend this to thee as a matter of very high Importance at this Juncture. I cannot recover my strength yet but am now in better hopes of it. I hear thy son will have some Rivals for the Sherifs place but doubt not their Disappointm', & 'tis to be hoped that the Members & Sherifs Tickets being on different papers will be of Service if well managed. If E. Gatchel is put up I could wish none of thy fr^{ds} would oppose him, for though he might mistake, I think he was too severely corrected, & (all things considered) ought to be a little Supported. I most earnestly request thy thoughts & Application in what I have principally mentioned, and am with respect to thy self good spouse & family

Thy faithful & Affectionate fr^d

JAMES LOGAN

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF JOSEPH HEATLY DULLES.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES W. DULLES, M.D.

THE writer of this diary, Joseph Heatly Dulles, was born in Charleston, S. C., February 7, 1795. His father, who came to this country in 1779, and served in the defense of Charleston in 1780, was a man of position, married Sophia, daughter of Col. William Heatly and Marie Elise Courtonne, of South Carolina, and removed in 1812 to Philadelphia. He died in Charleston in 1818, while on a visit. His wife died in Philadelphia in 1848. He first lived in the house that stood on Locust Street close to the angle of Seventh Street, next to the Friend's Meeting House. His brother-in-law, Langdon Cheves, at the time when he was re-organizing the United States Bank, built and occupied the house now standing on the south-west corner of Seventh and Locust Streets.

Joseph Heatly Dulles, at the time of writing this diary, had just passed his examinations for graduation from Yale College in the Class of 1814. He afterwards lived in Philadelphia, though he spent part of almost every year on a large plantation in South Carolina belonging to him, which he managed in the most humane manner. The Civil War separated his person, but not his heart, from his native State. He died in Philadelphia, March 12, 1876. He married, April 21, 1819, Margaret Welsh, daughter of John Welsh and Jemima Maris, who was born September 2, 1797, and lived until November 10, 1897.

The companion to whom the diarist refers was James Potter, his classmate.

1814, Friday Morning, August 12th, At 9 we called on Mr M to get some introductory letters he had been so kind as to offer us. After sitting in the boat an hour waiting for passengers we started at 10 in an open sail boat for the opposite shore of the Lake, after toiling all day against a head wind, we at last arrived about 9 oclock at Plattsburgh. After calling at 3 places we were received—I can not say

accommodated, for the house was as wretched as the Wife of the Landlord, who wears the breeches, had left P. and taken every article of furniture with her. There were but 2 spoons in the house. We soon retired to a miserable bed after taking a bowl of milk.

Saturday August 13th, after breakfast I happened fortunately to see the stage which had omitted calling at the house. I hailed it and James and myself were soon seated in the waggon which is called a stage. At 12 we stopped in Chazy, which we were induced to do by the advice and example of Dr Bruno, a surgeon in the army whom I had seen at Ballston and Saratoga. We found here a much better house than we had left. We had not stopped one minute when there came on the most violent rain and Hail storm which I have seen for some years. At 5 James and I made an assay for the camp. We had an introductory letter to Captain Hall of the Dragoons. We walked to the spot where the Dragoons were encamped and asked for Cap^t H. The Sergeant of the Guard demanded our names which we gave; these were sent to the Cap^t. He sent word back to know our business. We then of course gave the letter and orders were sent to admit us and we were conducted to the Marquee of the Cap^t. and were received very politely by him. We were soon made acquainted with many of the Dragoon officers, Col. Ball, Capt. Hopkins, Lieut. Wright etc all Southerners. These all treated us with the greatest attention. To meet so many Southerners was very pleasing to me. The officers nearly all had servants, which made it look still more like Carolina. Capt. Hall is from Virginia, Capt. Hopkins from Kentucky, Col. Ball from Virginia or Maryland. We staid about an hour in Camp, and returned with a promise of breakfasting with our friends in the morning. We met here two Southern naval officers who invited us on board the fleet, offering to have a boat ready for us. We agreed to be on the shore at 11. We met at Home Dr Bruno who came up with us & Wheaton. Both

of them sensible and intelligent men ranking high in the Medical department of the army. I am now where there is real service, every thing is military; but I do not find so many objects worthy of notice as might be expected. One thing I could not but notice viz. the excessive profanity of the officers scarcely an affirmation is made without its attendant oath.

Sunday, 14th August. We walked to the camp at 6, the hour we were to meet our friends. We were obliged to send to y^e Capt. for admission. He was unwell but Capt. Hopkins recognized our names and ordered the guard to let us pass. Capt. Hall had received a severe bruize from a fall he received yesterday occasioned by a horse's leaping over him. Of late leaping has become an established exercise or rather amusement of the troop. Capt. Hall at last appeared at 7. We sat down to a better breakfast than I expected to find in a camp so far removed from a well settled country. A fine beefstake with Herrings, dry beaf, Tea, Coffee, etc with very nice corn bread. All the officers of the troop except the Col. wear mustachios which is no addition to their beauty, tho' it may be to their ferocity of appearance; the Whiskers meet the mustachios, some of them make a strange appearance. Before breakfast we were treated to a Virginia Julip by Col. Ball; this drink they were surprised to hear was new to us. It is made of Rum water and a handful of mint pressed into it, and from the taste the spirit must have exceeded the water, it is not unpleasant. These gent. think a mint patch near an encampment, as a great treasure. I heard the story very often told that the Col. had discovered a fine patch 3 miles from the present encampment; for which the whole company seemed much indebted to him. After breakfast we walked a little about the camp saw Gen. Izard, Col. Drayton of S. C., Capt. Hamilton with whom I was acquainted at home; he is Gen. I's aid; Col. Pinckney and many others. At 10 we began our ride for the fleet it lies 3 miles distant at the

mouth of Chazy river. We were in a waggon a most uncomfortable vehicle; we rode to the lake side and ordered back our waggon, preferring a walk back to such a ride. In a few moments a midshipman informed that a boat was ready for us if we were the gent. who were to go on board the *Saratoga*. We stepped into the boat and were soon on our way. We found Com. McDonough on shore in a conference with Gen. Izard; we declined giving our letter to him untill he came on board. Lieut. Drury whom we had met at the Camp, received us as we came on board and handed us through a crowd of sailors in the midst of whom not a little to my surprise & more to my pleasure I found a clergyman preaching. We were soon placed in company with the officers, all standing, the sermon was now delivering. The preacher I soon recognized to be one of my fellow boarders a Mr Elliot once Chaplain to Congress, now to the army. His subject was against outward piety, not very applicable to sailors for they rarely profess to be pious; he said some suitable things however and I was not a little pleased at having not passed a Sabbath without a sermon. Before he ended the Com. came on board; the greatest silence and every apparent attention prevailed every eye seemed fixed; I never saw any where a more attentive audience than this appeared to be, "they dare not do otherwise" said the Com. when I remarked this to him. We were after a message sent to the Com. asked into his cabin where we delivered our letter from Mr Mitchell. The Com. behaved very politely, but spoke very little, he has a fine countenance and what is much more is a most amiable man, not less loved than esteemed by his officers and crew. I never heard any officer spoken of by those under him as he is. the officers put the most unbounded confidence in his bravery and prudence. He never uses any profane language, for which even his profane officers and men esteem him, his manner is all mildness. A decanter of wine was brought on the table; a Midshipman came into the Cabin requesting the Com's company to day to dinner which he accepted. The

Com. wrote a note to the ward room as I supposed and a lieut. soon came requesting our company also to dine with the "gentlemen of the ward room." We left the Com. and parson to overlook the ship. We were politely attended by Lt. Drury, there was nothing new or peculiar about the ship. The Saratoga is a ship, the only one on the Lake carries 20 odd guns all carronades except 6, 3 on each side. She is very low for her size and her appearance is deceptive; she is much broader than she appears, having fine quarters. The sails had been unfurled to dry and we had the pleasure of seeing them all furled again; this was something new, in an instant the whole ship appeared alive every rope seemed to hang thick with men; the business was soon over and all again was quiet. Signals were given from our ship, which were answered and in a few moments the whole fleet had their sails completely furled. There are 3 large vessels beside the Saratoga whose names and force I do not recollect, 6 large and 4 small gallies; the large gallies have a long 24 pounder in the head and a caronade in the stern, has 60 men on board, is sharp each end; the small ones have about 40 men and one gun. They have a large 4 sided sail which is placed in the middle of the boat its length etc I could not easily ascertain, their force is great and most applicable to the lake service. The enemy must be drawn into wide water or our large vessels will be of very little use. The Com. could not persuade the Secretary of the navy to build gallies instead of large vessels. He regrets much that he is obliged to take a bad ground for the sake of defending the soil of a most treacherous and ungrateful set of people. He cannot move a few miles ever so secretly from his Ship, but immediate information is carried to the enemy; once he very narrowly escaped a party of Indians brought on by Americans.

At last dinner was announced to be ready; it was past 3 some time. We were soon seated the Com. at the head of the table 1st Lieut. at the foot. Com McD. gave the sig-

nal for attention before grace was asked ; this motion of his hand with his countenance was the most beautiful and expressive gesture I ever saw ; there was something peculiar in his look and the waving of his hand, I cannot hit, tho. the motion is still before me. This over we fell to eating. We had a fine roast pig Roast fowls, Hashed fowls, fried fish with some other dishes which made on the whole a very good dinner indeed. We had desert and blackberries. The Port wine was capital, the Madeira I did not taste. It was time for us to start after enjoying a good long sitting the Com. became more conversant and agreeable. The Parson James and I left the Ship with kind invitations to revisit the fleet, for w^h we returned the best wishes for success. We stopped and viewed one of the large gallies, they are open boats; tents are used on them in rainy weather. We landed and pursued our course on foot to the Camp, where we took leave of our friends to whose politeness I felt not a little obligated. We determined to night that if the weather was fair we would try a walk to Plattsburgh, 14 miles, the road very bad. Watched till past nine for the gun fired at 9 oclock at Isle au Noix.

Monday 15th August. We were awake at daylight this morning by the pouring of the rain on the shed. To make short work it rained tremendously all day—a very cold raw day, no wood in the house to make a fire; we bore it as well as we could. I read D^r. Clarkes travells in the East w^h I was fortunate enough to get from the Parson. At Dusk it ceased raining and we engaged a private waggon to carry us to Plattsburgh in the morning.

This evening D^r Wheaton gave me much amusement and instruction; I drew him on, to a subject which he well understands and as is usual with professional men loved to converse on. One instance of Hydro-phobia twice cured by eating salt simply; the man is now at Plattsburgh. In one of his fits he called for Salt; a soldier near handed him a

bowl of it, which he devoured most voraciously; soon after fell into a sleep and awoke free from all madness. This some time after was repeated. A large number of men last winter, in the encampment at Burlington died of home sickness. The D^r said, often he would see a man, with a thoughtless countenance cutting a piece of wood or engaged in some foolish business of that kind, he would ask them what was the matter, the answer would be Nothing; no pain? no; Do you want to go home, his eyes would assume more expression, and he'd say, I would like. If the matter rested here the man would in a day or two be found dead; if the D^r ordered an officer to get his discharge, the knife is put up the stick thrown away and the man being deceived with the fond hope a few days recovers. D^r told of a man living 6 months on a bath of soup, being unable to receive nourishment within. A man being found often in a cook shop, where he said he lived on the vapour of the food was sued by the cook, for a theft was found guilty and condemned to pay a certain fine which was to be paid by sounding it in the ear of the cook.

Tuesday August 16th. At 5 we were up and waited till seven for our driver; he came at last and we were off. It looked like rain but we had a covered waggon after riding 3 hours over a very rough and dangerous road we arrived at Plattsburgh again. On the road are 4 or 5 fine stands for a retreating army, nothing could be better, real passes which a double force would be bold to attempt. A narrow causeway on each side of which is an impassible morass at the end of this is a firm ascent which commands the whole, here the retreating army can use its whole force being spread out, the enemy must be drawn up very closely. These places were hinted at to me by Capt. Hall. At 11 we arrived at Plattsburgh. A strong head wind no boat starting for Burlington we took breakfast at Foquets a pretty good one,—still a head wind. Plattsburgh is situated in a

fine bay which is unfortunately very shallow near the shore. It is overrun with grog shops and taverns. I know of no place which has so little like gentility in it; all looks vulgar. There is I am told a pretty good society of 10 or 12 families. A church is now erecting; the Court house is not an ill looking building. A stream runs through the town called Plattsburgh river; a bridge is thrown over it a little below the fall which is but a small one; a mill is situated at the falls. The streets are very dirty; on the whole its a pretty dirty place as far as I can judge.

While we were waiting for a fair wind to take our passage for Burlington, we walked about the encampment. James would not go with me to deliver a letter to Gen. McComb the commander here. The Gen. having left this place for Champlain, he returned to the house and I walked about. After seeing all I could from an external view I was returning when a sergeant with two men walked up to me and told me they had orders to take me. I was not much surprised at this as I had observed that I was watched closely. I of course complied and walked to the Guard House; the Sergeant of the guard here began to examine me, but I demanded admittance to the Commander, as I feared that their object was to insult me. I was then taken to a Lieut. who began the same course. I told him that I wished to see the Commander. He was Captain of the Guard, to satisfy him I shewed him my letter to Gen. McComb. He bowed very politely after having perused it, made many apologies and proposed walking with me to Col. Fenwick, the Com. of the forces here. As the centinels had behaved rather rudely I hinted to the Capt. that it would be well if it were necessary to be strict to be at the same time civil, the centinels at Chazy were very civil. I went immediately to the Col's Marquee where I found him, engaged in conversation with several officers. I handed him the letter to Gen. Mc, stating to him that I had been taken up on suspicion, while walking about the encampment. He

read the letter, laughed the matter off and requested me to return after dinner and that then he would walk with me over the fortresses; I thanked him and made my exit from the Camp. I began to think what proofs I could have shown beside this letter. I had no trunk or clothes with me, no papers in my pocket except a little book of expenses in which the first thing that presented itself to my view was two or three pages of sketches of forts which I remembered to have taken at Ticonderoga; this would have been sufficient cause to have detained me until I could have produced farther proof which might have taken some days at least. I returned to dinner very well pleased with my escape and the thought of having a full view of the redoubts etc at this place. I have never yet seen any thing of the kind except a few forts. At the dining place I found a stranger who had yesterday been detained three hours in confinement. We took at Foquets a very poor dinner and I persuaded James now to accompany me to the camp. We went to the Col's Marquee where after waiting some time the Col. came. I mentioned frequently about my being from Charleston and enquired about people from there. Col. Fenwick is himself from Carolina. We sat here some time, before we began our view of the fortresses;—the Col. was fixing up a drinking establishment, two or three kegs of liquor. He walked with us over the redoubts which are no doubt very strong, there are three forts which make a complete cross fire on an attack made in any direction, they all have deep wide ditches around them, which must be impassible as long as any degree of resistance can be made. The forts are built of wood. and are so positioned that the strongest can command the other two if they should be taken possession of by the enemy; they have now been constructing about 2 weeks and will be finished in a week or more. There is a large body of militia at work on them with Gen. Wooster at their head; he is Captain of the vet exempts who are at work here. If the enemy attack in front the town

must I think be destroyed by our batteries. At 4 we observed that the wind had changed we thanked the Col. for his politeness and made haste for the wharf whence the Burlington boats sail. They were all off, one of them not far. I left James to pay our bill and ran to stop this boat which I succeeded in doing; James paid the bill but vexed me by staying on the shore fearing to go near the centinels which he must do to get at the boat; after many signals I brought him to the place, where we got into a large clumsy sail boat. After sailing about 2 hours the wind died away and we rowed the boat ashore at Peru a small village 8 or 10 miles from Plattsburgh it was nine o'clock before we got here and then very dark. After beating against the rocks some time we forced the boat near enough the shore to get to it dry. Near the shore was a boat in which were men harpooning fish. In the head of the boat was a vessel containing combustible matter; a man stands by it with a harpoon whilst one in the stern guide the boat; it seemed to me like a wild goose chase, these men caught one salmon in the course of the night. We found our way up to house where we were told we might be accommodated; roused the old lady & after a little parley she agreed to receive us. We made a hearty meal on bread and milk & hominy and had a bed made on the floor which was very acceptable to us.

Wednesday, 17th August. I spent a terrible night. Some part of last night I was woke from my sleep by a rattling on my head and face of some thing I could not tell what; the first idea was that a swarm of insects had poured down upon me. I shook my head and inverted my position putting me feet to this place as the dropping still continued. In the morning I found that there happened to be just over my head the granary of the mice of the house, they had ate a hole through the ceiling and were letting down on me a shower of bran. Not a particle of wind this morning.

At 8 we started with a light breeze which was as inconstant as possible; every now and then a breeze would carry us 2 or 300 hundred yards and then leave us or shift to another quarter; what wind we had was directly a head we beat about the lake all day untill 1 we passed Valcour Island etc.

Met several squals, one of them very warm had nearly capsized us; we had to let fly all sail, to save ourselves. We thought it prudent to stop as the squals were becoming more frequent. We put in on the East side of the lake at Bell's Island, and thence to the main, where after a mile walk through the woods we found a house, sent back for our great coats and after eating some Hurtle berries and milk determined to walk the rest of the way, which was 8 miles. We paid our passage only fifty cents & sat out. At this house were a dozen or more sick Children and women, it seemed to be a resort for sick people and I was glad to get from it. We walked 4 miles from Colchester point to Onion river through a baren wood, but the walk was shady and pleasant. We crossed the river in a boat and walked 4 miles farther to Burlington, where we arrived about sunset not much fatigued. though we had eaten nothing the whole day but a few hurtle berries. After taking tea we called on M^r Mitchell where we met young Webb an old schoolmate of mine at Weathersfield. We spent a pleasant evening. M^r M. regretted that his lameness prevented his shewing us more attention.

Thursday, 18th August, 1814. After breakfast I obtained direction to a cave near this place of which I had heard something and got James to accompany me to it. We walked to a house about 2 miles from Burlington where we found a little boy who was to direct us to the spot. At a little distance back we struck down a hill in a road which when we had followed some hundred yards we left for a foot path our guide proceeding on his road. We had to make out our way as well as we could through this swamp by

stepping on logs which have been laid here for this purpose but are now completely decayed. About 200 hundred yards brought us to the mouth of the cave which we could not mistake as it was large and opened directly to the Cave. This cave is I suppose a large one, and if it could be possibly kept dry would afford a good retreat for a pretty large body of men, its appearance is handsome. The floor is covered with water which is continually oozing through the ceiling in every part; with some difficulty I made a passage with logs to the end of the Cave and took a measurement of it as well as I could, as follows: the mouth is something this shape [drawing made which has been crossed out] 10 feet at the upper width 3 at the narrowest and 12 at the foot, there is a large rock at the mouth which nearly closes the entrance—it is 54 feet long, 20 feet at its greatest breadth which is at the opening of the cave where it is 30 or 40 feet high—this is a few feet from the mouth, the back of the cave is only 10 feet high the lowest part of it is 7 which is a few feet from the back—at this spot it is 15 feet wide just behind it are two recesses one of them 6 the other 9 feet back in the rock neither are very high, the width in the rock at the back is the greatest. About 30 feet it is perfectly light. Except in the two recesses at the back—there is a hole in the top at the back about 18 inches diameter the extent of which I could not discover, having no long pole, the water is about a foot deep is clear and very cold, of a good taste. The rock is what I take to be quartz, it may be a hornstone or something of that kind, the outside easily decays, there are no signs of stalactites except a little incrustation. I found on the road near this place an Indian axe made of this stone, it was a large one 6 inches long by 4, I broke it for a specimen of the rock. After gratifying our curiosity by a full survey of this singular object we returned through the bog; little has been conjectured respecting the formation of these extensive cavities in the firmest rocks usually they extend farther than

means will allow to search them, ending in lakes. I could see nothing about this which could lead to a supposition of its being formed by any other means than creation, for purposes which our short sighted views can not comprehend. We returned very well pleased with our expedition being better pleased than we had anticipated. We called on M^r M. to request his aid in getting a view from the College Cupalo, he gave me a note to a young man who lived there, on whom with James and M^r Webb I called after dinner. We got easy admission into this building which is now used as barracks for our soldiers.

The view is very fine, a most majestic scene is formed by the high mountains rising one behind another as far as the eye can reach, before them is a fine sheet of water interspersed with several islands which serve to increase the beauty of the prospect; this view is on the west, on the east you have mountains which out reach the eye and are lost in the Clouds. These are the Green mountains, so famous in American Geography and History—this range of mountains extends from West rock at New Haven as far as Onion river and perhaps into Canada, the country here is all mountainous, and highly picturesque. Burlington is a beautiful harbour. The U. S. pay for the College building \$6000 yr and are to pay for all repairs and damages, this is a monstrous imposition, there are fine barracks in this place which it is said have never been full. The building is a fine one 160 feet long, there are 48 rooms in it, which are not very convenient for students; they are now very filthy, it is 4 stories high, built of brick with a projection in front, in the middle, in this part are the largest rooms which are appropriated to public use.

President Sanders was an indecisive character, and besides was a Socinian, he would take no bright professors for fear of displaying his own ignorance; the professor of Oriental languages is now Postmaster, priest and lawyer; this letting the house it is thought will bring money enough to

set the College on its legs again. James and I proceeded to take a view of the falls of Onion river 2 miles farther. They are pretty but not to compare with Glenns falls or those of the Pasaic; the bed of the river is a silicious stone of a greyish colour; the fall is nowhere high, in some places very rapid. We extended our walk a mile farther to see something of a curiosity; the river is here compressed into a narrow stream, by passing through a lime stone rock, the top of which is perhaps 80 feet from the surface of the water; there is a bridge here from which the passage of the river makes a singular appearance. We made our way home by sunset engaged our seats in the stage for Middlebury to morrow, at 4 O'clock. We had sent our clothes out to be washed they did not return at night when we wished to pack our trunks I went to bed James sat up until 12 when the Clothes arrived half dry only. I got up packed them and arose at 4 O'clock.

ORDERLY BOOK OF GEN. JOHN PETER GABRIEL
MUHLENBERG, MARCH 26-DECEMBER 20, 1777.

(Concluded from page 187.)

HEAD QUARTERS November 28th 1777.

Such of the Troops as are not already Provided with cooked Provisions for Tomorrow are to Draw & Cook it this Night. at Day break a Cannon will be fired as a signal for the whole Army to Parade ready to March when the whole are Completely Formed. They are to Ground their Arms but be ready to take them up again at a Minutes Warning. If it should Rain or Snow the Men are not to Parade.

HEAD QUARTERS November 29th 1777.

A Gill of Rum or Whiskey to be issued to Day to each Officer, Soldier & Waggoner.

HEAD QUARTERS November 30th 1777.

Major General		Greene
Brigadier		Smallwood
Field Officers	Col. Courtland	Major Smith
Brigade Major		Learned's Brigade.

On the 25th November the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress passed the following Resolves Viz^t Resolved that Gen^l Washington be directed to Publish in Gen^l Orders that Congress will speedily take into consideration the Merits of such Officers who have Distinguished themselves by their Interpidity and attention to the Health & Discipline of their Men, & adopt such regulations as shall tend to Introduce order & Good Discipline into the Army & to Render the situation of the Officers & Soldiery with respect to their cloth^s & other Necessarys more Eligible than it has hitherto

been Forasmuch as it is the Indispensable Duty of all Men to adore the superintending Providence of Almighty God to acknowledge with Gratitude their Obligations to him for Benefits Received & to Implore such Future Blessings as they stand in need of, & it having pleased him in his Abundant Goodness & Mercy not only to Continue to us the Innumerable Bounties of his Common Providence but also to smile upon us in the Prosecution of a Just & Necessary War for the Defence of our Invaluable Rights & Liberties. It is therefore recommended by Congress that Thursday the 18th December next be set apart for Solemn Thanksgiving & Praise that at one Time & with one Voice the good People may Express the greatfull Feelings of their Hearts & Consecrate themselves to the service of their Divine Benefactor, & that together with their sincere acknowledgments & offerings they may join a Penitent Confession of their Sins, & supplications for such further Blessings they stand in need of. The Chaplains will properly Notice this Recommendation that day of Thanksgiving may be duly observed in the Army agreeable to the Intentions of Congress. The Regimental Pay Masters are to call upon the Pay Master Gen^l Tomorrow & Receive Pay for the Month of Septemb^r. Those who have acknowledged their abstracts for the Month of October may Receive for that month also.

HEAD QUARTERS December 1st 1777.

Major Gen ^l Tomorrow	. . .	L ^d Sterling
Brigadier		Irvine
Field Officers Col. Wisson	L ^t Colonel Stoddard	
Brigade Maj ^r		M ^c Gowen

Mr. Robert Duncan is appointed Pay Master to the 4th North Carolina & is to be respected as such. A Gen^l Court Martial is to sit tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock at the Tavern near Col^o Biddles Quarters for the Trial of all Prisoners brought before them, Col. Ogden is appointed President of this Court L^t Col^o Sims, Maj^r Wallace, Maj^r North & a Cap^t

from the 1st & 2^d Pennsylv^a Maxwells, Conways, Woodfords, Scotts, Powers, Pattersons, & Larnards Brig^d are to be Members of this Court. The Officers are to make out their Muster Rolls to December the 1st. The Term of time which the Men Inlisted for is to be Inserted in every Muster Roll. The non Effectives is not to be Inserted a second time. Officers must pay strict attention to the Orders which have been Issued with Respect to this part of their Duty.

HEAD QUARTERS December 2^d 1777.

Maj ^r Gen ^l Tomorrow	. . .	Baron de Kalb
Brigadier		Muhlenberg
Field Officers	. . .	Col. Bradford, Maj ^r Tho ^s
Brigade Major		Hitchcock

Returns are to be made early Tomorrow morning of all Officers & Men in the sev^l Brigades & Corps who have not had the Small Pox. Every officer Comd^s Corps or Regiments is to make an Immediate Return to the Pay M^r Gen^l of every Pay Master that has belonged to or done Duty as such in any Regiment or Corps their place of abode & the Time when they left the Serv^{ce}.

After Orders.

Whenever the alarm is given by the firing of 3 Cannon the whole Baggage & Provision of the Army (Tents included) is to be put into the Waggon^s and off the following Roads The Right wing of Both Lines by the North Wales Road, & the road by Edgers Mill, & to proceed to the 24 Mile stone on those Roads, unless further Orders are Received. The left Wing of both Lines by the two Roads which lead to the Old York Road at the 13 & 15 Mile Stones & proceed on to the 24 Mile stone untill further Orders. Whether the Alarm guns are fired or not the whole army is to be under arms at their Respective Posts at Day light Tomorrow Morning & the lines properly formed by the Maj^r Gen^l in their respective Commands.

D. O. Not more than one man to be sent with each Waggon & those the most unfit for duty among the Troops Each Regiment is to be told off into Grand and Sub divisions & the Officers posted as much amongst their own Men as Possible. Those men whose Ammunition is not Completed to 40 Rounds are to be furnished as early as possible in the morning after they are formed with that Quantity.

HEAD QUARTERS December 3^d 1777.

Major Gen ^l Tomorrow	Sullivan
Brigadier	Weedon
Field Officers . Col. Livingston's Maj ^r Wills	
Brigade Maj ^r	Mennis

A Gen^l Court Martial whereof Col. Grayson was President held the 26th 27, 28, 29th November last Maj^r Howard appeared before the Court charged 1st with wound^s Capt^a Lieut. Duffy with his sword, 2^d Abetting and Riott in Camp 3^d in front of his Men at his Request assemble attempting the Life of Capt^a Duffy with a Loaded firelock & fixed Bayonet, being entirely subversive of Good order & Dicipline. The Court having considered the charge & Evidence are of oppinion that Maj^r Howard did not intentinally wound Capt^a Duffy & therefore acquit him of the Charge upon the 2^d charge they are of oppinion however justifiable the Motives were by we^h Maj^r Howard was first actuated his conduct in that End was as such as tended rather to promote than suppress a Riot. They therefore sentence him to be reprimanded in Gen^l Orders, with respect to the 3^d charge the Court are of oppinion that it is not supported by Evidence & do therefore acquit him Capt^a Duffy appeared before the Court charged 1st with aiding & abetting a Riot, 2^d assaulting & abusing Maj^r Howard in the Execution of his Office the Court having Considered the 1st charge & evidence are of oppinion that Capt^a Duffy behaved with Warmth that tended to provoke a riot & do sentence him to be reprimanded in Gen^l Orders. Upon the 2^d charge they are of

opinion that Maj^r Howard when Capt^a struck him had deviated from the Line of his Duty & consequently was not in the Execution of his office they do therefore acquit him of the 2^d charge. the above oppinions are approved by the Commander in Chief the sentences of Reprimand appear to be Pronounced with Great Justness on an Impropriety of Conduct unbecoming the Characters of Officers whose Duty it is to set Examples of Moderation, decency & order & to suppress all riots & Tumults. The officers & Men of the Company raised by the late Capt^a Calderwood are to be annexed to Capt^a Nevinis's Company in Col^o Malcolms Regiment.

HEAD QUARTERS December 4th 1777.

Maj^r Gen^l Tomorrow Greene
 Brigadier Woodford
 Field Officers . Col^o Tupper Maj^r Reed
 Brigade Maj^r Stoddard

The Troops are constantly to have one day Prov^s on hand ready cook'd, the officers are to pay a Particular attention to this & consider it as a standing Rule that if they are suddenly called to Arms their men may not be distressed. Maj^r Gen^l Marquis De La Fayette is to take Command of the Division lately Commanded by Gen^l Stephen.

HEAD QUARTERS December the 5th 1777.

Maj^r Gen^l Tomorrow L^d Sterling
 Brigadier Maxwell
 Field Officers L^t Col^o Farmer, Maj^r Howard
 Brigade Maj^r Claiborne

HEAD QUARTERS December 6th 1777.

Maj^r Gen^l Tomorrow De Kalb
 Brigadier Huntington
 Field Officers Col Wigglesworth L^t Col^o Nagle
 Brigade Maj^r Nunn

The Com^{ry} Gen^l says he has put six Days Provision into the hands of the Division & Brigade Commissarys, if there-

fore the Troops want Provision it must be the fault of the Latter, & this want will be attending with such Pernicious Consequences that no Excuse will be admitted in behalf of any Commissary who fails of Daily Supplying his Division or Brigade but a severe Example will be made of him. The Troops are to Ground their Arms at their Alarm Posts & as soon as Possible draw & Cooke their Provisions for to-day & Tomorrow & Immediately sit about the Best Provision they can of Wood & Hutts for tonight the officers Commanding Brigades & Corps are again Call'd upon to bring back from the Baggage sent off Yesterday every Man who has Cloathing and shoes suff^r to enable him to do Duty & to prevent the stroling & loss of Men the Commanding Officers of every Corps is to see that the Rolls are called every Thursdays & know where every man is. The Q. M^r Gen^l has Axes to supply such Brigades as want them the Brigade Q^r M^{rs} of all to whom any are issued are to be accountable respectively to those of whome they receive them.

B. O. Those Regiments who have not Provision agreeable to G. O. are to draw & Cook it this night. The regiments are to form an abbette in their Fronts with Brush Immediately when this is done they may return to their Old ground & on any alarm to return to their posts with all Expedition.

HEAD QUARTERS December 9th 1777.

Maj ^r Gen ^l Tomorrow	Lord Sterling
Brigadier	Poor
Field Officers L ^t Col ^o Ramsey Major Stubblefield	
Brigade Maj ^r	Barber

The Tents are on the Sepack road & so many are to be sent for & Pitched as are necessary for Officers & men that have not Hutts, that will keep themselves & their Arms dry but the Gen^l recommends that no more Tents be pitched than are necessary to shelter the Troops, neither Officers or men are to be absent from Camp on any Pretence whatso-

ever. A Capⁿ & 2 Subaltrans are wanting for the Corps of Invalids Commanded by Col^o Lewis Nichol as Officers disabled so as to be unfit for Field Duty who are desirous of Engaging in that service upon being Properly Recommended will receive Commissions thereof. The Gen^l Court Martial of which Col^o Ogden is President is to sit at the usual place at 9 o'clock Tomorrow morning if any members are sick or absent the Brigade Maj^{rs} are to warn other officers of the same Ranks in their Room, an orderly Serj from each Division is to attend the Court an orderly Serj^t from each Brigade is to attend constantly at Head Quarters, Brigade Returns are to be made to the Adjutant Gen^l Tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock all of the sick in Camp & at Private Houses about the Country & the number of Waggon necessary to Transport them to the Hospital, but the surgeons are to return none for Waggon that are able to March when their packs are carried for them otherwise from the scarcity of waggons some of the sick will be left in Camp. Each Brigadier or Officer commanding a Brigade is to see that the surgeons duly comply with this Order when those Returns are made the surgeons will apply to Dr. McKnight at Col^o Biddles Quarters for Waggon one Carefull Officer from each Brigade is to be sent with the sick to see them properly taken care of on their way to the Hospital three days provisions is to be sent with the sick. Each officer commanding a Brigade is to make a Return tomorrow at orderly time of their killed, wounded & missing since Gen^l Howe's late march from Philadelphia & if any during that Time lost of that sense of Duty have Infamously deserted their names are to be added to the same Returns.

HEAD QUARTERS December 10th 1777.

Major Gen ^l Tomorrow	De La Fayette
Brigadier	Wayne
Field Officers Maj ^{rs} Murray Maj ^{rs} Byard	
Brigade Maj ^{rs}	Stoddard

HEAD QUARTERS December 12th 1777.

Maj^r Gen^l Tomorrow . . . Sullivan
 Brigadier Muhlenberg
 Field Officers . Col. Lamb Major Scull
 B. Major Williams

A careful subaltern from each Brigade to repair this day to the last Encamp^{mt} of the Army to collect & take care of the sick & Conduct them to Reading. These officers are to apply to the Regimental Surgeons for Information where to find the sick of their Regiments every Motive of Duty & Humanity requires the most Exact attention to this order D^r Draper & Carnel at Mr. Mitts will give assistance to this subaltrens. The Commd^r in Chief with Pleasure expresses his approbation of the Beheaviour of the Penna Militia yesterday under Gen^l Potter. In the Vigorous opposition they Made to a Body of the Enemy on the other side Schuylkill. Daniel Climer is appointed Deputy Commissary of Prisoners to act in the absence of the Commissary of Prisoners.

HEAD QUARTERS December 13th 1777.

Maj^r Gen^l Tomorrow Greene
 Brigadier Weedon
 Field Officers Col^o Ferberger Maj^r Miller
 Brigade Maj^r M^cClure

The Field Officers are without delay to examine the Arms & accutrements of their Men & see that they are Put in Good Order Provisions for Tomorrow & next day are to be drawn & cooked. A gill of whiskey is to be served to each officer, soldier & waggoner. The Weather being likely to be fair, the Tents are not to be Pitched but the Axes in the Waggon are to be sent for without delay that the men may make fires & Hutts themselves for the ensuing night. The Army is to be in readiness to March at 4 o'clock Tomorrow Morning. An officer from each Regiment to be sent to the Encampment on the other side of Schuylkill to search that &

the Houses & Bring in all Straglers to their Corps. All the Waggons that are not yet over are to be sent for & got over as soon as Possible. M^r Archibald Read is appointed Paymaster to the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment & is to be Respected as such. The Guards to Parade at the Gulph Mill at 3 o'clock this afternoon. The Weekly Returns to be given in at 8 o'clock Tomorrow morning & a List of the Commiss^d Officers of each Regiment.

HEAD QUARTERS December 14th 1777.

Maj^r Gen^l Tomorrow L^d Sterling
 Brigad^r Woodford
 Field Officers Col^o Biggelow L^t Colonel Reed
 Brigade Maj^r M^cClintock

The Regiments of Horse are to draw Provision of any Com^{vy} lodging most Convenient to them upon proper Returns therefor, such of the Baggage as are not Absolutely Necessary for the Troops & all the Comm^{vy} & other stores are to remain on this side the Gulph.

HEAD QUARTERS December 15th 1777.

Maj^r Gen^l Tomorrow . . . De La Fayette
 Brigadier Maxwell
 Field Officers Col^o Swift, L^t Colonel Weisempels
 B. Major Larnard B.

A Field Officer from each Brigade is to inspect Immediately all the Men of his Brigade now with the Waggons & take to their Brigades every Man who is able to do Duty in the Line. Maj^r Shead is to take charge of the Men till further Orders. After this remaining with the Baggage Guards, & report any who are left with the Baggage contrary to this Order.

HEAD QUARTERS December the 16th 1777.

Maj^r Gen^l Tomorrow De Kalb
 Brigadier Varnum
 Field Officers L^t Colonel Brooks Maj^r Gillilan
 Brigade Major M^cGowen

In aid of the supplies of cloathing imported by Congress they earnestly Recommended to the Seve' States to Exert their utmost Endeavour to procure all kinds of cloathing for the comfortable subsistance of the Officers & Soldiers of their Respective Battalions & to appoint one or more persons to Dispose of Articles to the Officers & soldiers at such reasonable prices as shall be assessed by the Cloathier Gen' or his Deputy & be in just proportion to the Wages of the Officers & Soldiers Charging the surplus of the Costs to the United States, Congress have also resolved that all the cloathing hereafter to be supplied to the officers & soldiers of the Continental Army out of the Public Stores of the United States beyond the bounty already Granted shall be Charged at the like Prices the surplus to be defrayed by the United States.

HEAD QUARTERS December 17th 1777.

Maj^r Gen^l Tomorrow Sullivan
Brigadier Huntington
Field Officers Col^o Chambers, L^t Col^o Carleton
Brigade Mj^r Day

The Commander in Chief with the Highest Satisfaction Expresses his thanks to the Officers & soldiers for the fortitude & Patience with which they have sustained the ffatigues of the Campaign, altho' in some Instances we unfortunately failed yet upon the whole, Heaven hath smiled upon our Arms & Crown'd them with signal success & we may upon the Best Ground Conclude that by a Spirite Continuance of the Measures Necessary for our defence, we shall finally attain the end of our War for Independence, Liberty & Peace, these are Blessings worth the contending for, at every Haz^d but we Hazard Nothing the Powers of America alone duly executed would have nothing to dread from the force of Brittain but we stand not wholly up on our own Ground France yields every Aid we ask, & there are Reasons to believe the Period is not very distant when she will take a more active part by Declaring War against the Brittish Crown, every Motive therefore urges nay Commands us to a Manly preserverence in our opposition to our Cruel Oppres-

sors to slight difficultys endure Hardships & Contemn every Danger—the Gen^l wishes it was in his Power to conduct the Troops into the Best Winter Quarters, but where are those to be found shou^d we retire into the Interior parts of the Country we shou^d find them Crowded with Virtuous Citizens who Sacrificing their All have left Philadelphia & fled Hither for Protection to this Distress Humanity forbids to add, this is not all we shou^d leave a Vast Extent of fertile Country to be dispoiled & ravaged by the Enemy from which they would draw vast supplies & where Many of our firm friends wou^d be Exposed to all the Mercies of the Most Insulting & wanton depradation. A Train of Evils might be enumerated but these will suffice. These Considerations make it Indispensably Necessary for the Army to take such a Possition as will Enable us most effectually to prevent distress & give the Most extencive security & in that Possition we must make ourselves the Best shelter in our Power with Alacrity & Diligence. Hutts may be erected that will be dry & warm in these the Troops will be compleate, more secure against the surprize than if in a divided situation, & at hand to Protect the Country. These cogent Reasons have determined the Gen^l to take a Post in the Neighborhood of this Camp & Influenced by them he Persuades himself that the Officers & Soldiers with one Heart & one mind will Resolve to Surmount every difficulty with a fortitude of Patience becoming their P^ression & the Sacred cause in which they are engaged, he Himself will share in the Hardships & partake of every Inconvenience.

Tomorrow being the Day set apart by the Hoⁿble Congress for Publick Thanksgiving & Praise & Duty Calls us Devoutly to Express our grateful Acknowledgements to God for the Manifest Blessings he has Granted us the Gen^l Directs that the Army remains in its present Quarters & that the Chaplains performe Divine Service in their Sev^l Corps and Brigades & Earnestly Exhort those who absence is not Indispensible Necessary for to attend with Reverence the Solemnities of the Day.

HEAD QUARTERS December 18th 1777.

Maj ^r Gen ^l Tomorrow		Greene
Brigadier		Smallwood
F. O.		Col ^o Conner L ^t Col ^o Sproat
Brigade Maj ^r		Hitchcock

Persons having Passes from Maj^r Clarke is to pass the Guards. The Comm^dr in chief approves the following sentences of a Gen^l Court Martial held 22^d Nov^r of which Major North was President Viz^t Adj^t Ralston 1st Penna. Charged with making a false Return, with ungenteel, unmanlike Behaviour, with disobedience of Orders & leaving his arrest he was by the Unanimous Oppinion of the Court found Guilty of making a false return & sentenced to be cashiered. The Majors Gen^l & Officers Commanding Divisions are to appoint an active Field Officer in & for each of their Respective Brigades to superintend the Business of Hutting agreeable to the Directions he shall receive & in addition to these the Commanding Officers of each Reg^t is to appoint an officer to oversee the Building of Hutts for their own Reg^{ts} Such officers is to take his orders from the F. Officers of the Brigade he belong^d to who is to lay out the Percise spot that every Hutt for Officers & soldiers is to be placed on. That Uniform & order may be performed & Exact return of all the Tools now in the Hands of Every Reg^t is to be made Immediately to the Q^r M^r Gen^l who with the adjutant Gen^l is to see that they Together with those in store are duly allotted to the Reg^{ts} overseers of the Work who are to keep an Exact account of the Mens Names into Hands they are Placed that they may be accountable for them. The superintendants & overseers are to be exempt from all other Duty, & will be moreover allowed for their Trouble. The Col^{os} or Officers Commanding Reg^{ts} with their Captains are Immediately to cause their Men to be divided into Squadds of 12 & see that each squad have their Proportion of Tools & set about a Hutt for themselves. And as An Encouragem^t for Industry & Art the Gen^l Promises to reward the

Party in each Reg^t who finishes their Hutts in the most Nicest & most Workmanshiplike Manner with 12 Dollars & as there is reason to believe that Boards fore covering may be found scarce & difficult to be got he offers 100 Dollars to any Officer or Soldier who in the Opinion of three Genl^s he shall appoint as Judges shall substitute some other covering that may be cheaper & Quicker made & will in every Respect answer the End. The Soldiers Hutts are to be of the following Dimensions Viz^t 14 by 16, each sides Ends & Roof made with last & the Roof made tight with split Slabs or some other way, sides made tight with Clay fire Places made with Wood & secured with Clay on the inside 18 inches thick. The fire Place to be in the Rear of the Hutt the Door to be in the End next the street to be made with split Oak slabs unless Boards can be Procured the side walls to be 6½ feet high. The Officers Hutts to be in the side Rear of the Troops, one Hutt to be allowed to every F. O., one to the staff of Each Division, one to the staff of each Brigade, one to F. O. of each Reg^t, one to the Commiss^d Officers of two Companies & one to Every 12 non-Comms^d Officers & Soldiers.

HEAD QUARTERS 20th Dec^r 1777.

Maj ^r Gen ^t		Lord Sterling
Brigadier		Weedon
F. O. Lieutenant Col ^o Butler, L ^t Col ^o Davis	N. C.	
Brigade Maj ^r		Mennis

The Guards to parade at ½ past 3 o'clock this afternoon near the Park. The Maj^r Gen^t accompanied by the Engineers are to View the ground attentively & fix upon the proper spot for Hutting so as to Render the Camp as strong as Possible; the Engineers after this is to Mark the Ground & Direct the Field Officers appointed to superintend the Buildings of each Brigade where ever they are to be placed. The Soldiers are in Cutting their firewood to save such part of each tree as will do for Building 16 or 18 feet of

the Trunk for logs to rear their Hutts, in doing this each Regem' will reap the Benefit of their Labour. All those who have in consequence of the Orders of the 18th Ins^t Turned their thoughts to an easy & Expeditious Method of Covering the Hutts are requested to communicate their Plans to Maj' Gen' Sullivan, Green or Lord Sterling who will cause Experiments to be & assign the proper Reward to the Best Protection. The Q' M' Gen' is to delay no Time but use their utmost Exertions to Procure large Quantities of straw either for covering the Hutts if found necessary or for Beds for the Soldiers, he is to assure the Farmers that unless they get their Grain out Immed^{ly} the straw will be taken with the Grain in it & Paid for as straw only.

The Q' M' Gen' is to Collect as soon as possible all the Tents not now used by the Troops & as soon as they are Huttred all the Residue of the Tents & have them Washed & well dryed & then laid up in store such as are good for the next Campaign the others for the Uses as shall be directed, the whole are to be carefully preserved. The Col^{os} & Officers Commanding Regiments are forthwith to make Returns to the Q' M' Gen' of all the Tents belonging to their Corps. The Army being now come to a fixed station the Brigadiers or Officers Commanding Brigades are Immediately to take Effectual Measures to Collect & Bring to Camp all the Officers & Soldiers at Present scattered about the Country all Officers are enjoined to see that their men do not Wantonly or needlessly Burn or Destroy Rails & never fire their Hutts or shades when they leave them.

LETTERS OF TWO DISTINGUISHED PENNSYLVANIA
OFFICERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

The following letters of Col. William Thompson, of the Pennsylvania Rifle Battalion, raised under Act of Congress of June 14, 1775, and Gen. John Armstrong of the Pennsylvania Line and Militia, will be found in the Manuscript Department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Col. Thompson's military services, although short, were marked by training and efficiency. After the British evacuated Boston, before which his battalion was posted on Prospect Hill, it was ordered to Canada, where he was captured June 8, 1776, at Three River. He was not exchanged until October 25, 1780, for Major Gen. Baron de Reidesel. He died at Carlisle Penna., September 3, 1781, aged 45 years.

John Armstrong was appointed a Brigadier General in the Pennsylvania Line March 1, 1776, and resigned April 4, 1777. He reëntered the service and was commissioned Major General of the Pennsylvania Militia June 5, 1777, and commanded them in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown,—in the latter, the right wing of the army. His letter, which follows, is interesting, as he gives an estimate of the commands of his own and Gen. Potter, three days after Washington's army had reached Valley Forge; that he had been given command of the Militia, operating in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and the plans he had adopted to prevent foraging by the enemy. Gen. Armstrong died at Carlisle, Penna., March 9, 1795, aged seventy years.

CAMP ON PROSPECT HILL, 25th Jan^r. 1775.

MY DEAR SIR

Yours of the 12th Inst is before me, and I rejoyce at the appointment of the Officers for the five new Reg^{ts} indeed the exceed my highest expectations; and you may depend the Honour of Pennsylv^a is entirely safe in their Hands; and when they get the Reg^{ts} compleat the Liberties of America will be better Supported by them than ever it was, or can possibly be, by the whole Troops Raised or to be raised in the Massachusets.

As it is very likly that a great number of Troops will be wanted in Canada next Campaign, and that General Lee will command in that Quarter, I must beg for the Hon^r of our Province and the Good of the Service that you enda-

vour to get our Troops sent there, and the whole to act together in one Brigade if they are sent to different places and act sperately as they are new raised Reg^{ts} our Officers will be commanded by every Damned fellow of this country and never have it in their power to gain Hon^r to themselves or the Country that sent them. I would write you very fully on the Subject as I am now out of the Service and (I suppose) may speak my Mind freely, but I hope to see you very Shortly. Let me however return you my most Sincere Thanks for your kind attention to my character and Interest. I am only sorry that my name has been mentioned and my Friends put to so much Trouble on my Acc^t. What ever Name or Tittle M^r Fry passed by in this Country before I came into the Service I know not, but Sure I am he was not known in the Army when all the Ranks of Officers were Settled last Aug^t and it is not unlikely but the Mistake is greater in appointing of him now than leaving him out before. However I believe his Brigade will be very happy with him, as it is reported he is a very Peaceable Innofensive kind of a Man and has been fully instructed in the Art of War by Gen^l Thomas.

I hope none of my Friends will blame me for leaving the Service at this time. Be assured no Man has the Good of the Service more at Heart, nor with more chearfullness would risque Life in Defence of American Liberty, but at the same time my own Hon^r and indeed the Good of the Service require my Resignation, for be assured if indavours are made to keep Honour of preferment out of a Soldiers reach the Army must in a Short time be Composed of People who only mean to get Rich in the Service. And thank God I am not a Yankey.

You mention a Prospect of my being provided for to the Southward. I should be extremely happy in going there but there can't be the least occasion for my Services in that part of the World as the have Men of Hon^r & understanding enough to command the Armies in Virginia and Maryland. Give my best Complim^{ts} to Col. S^t Clair and tell him

I would have Answered his Letter long er now but expected to have Seen him at Philad^a two Weeks agoe. For God-sake keep our Troops together and keep them out of this Damned Country if Possible.

As I am now at a little leasure to think of my Family I have wrote to M^{rs} Thompson to come to Town, as I must attend on our Assembly some Weeks. you'll therefore please to forward her Letter by the very first opp^y.

My best Complim^{ts} wait on my Brother George Read and all Friends and I am D^r Sir yours very Sincerely

W^m THOMPSON.

P. S. No hopes of geting into Boston.

CAMP NEAR BARTHOLOMEWS, 22^d Dec^r 1777

DEAR SIR

General Washington has requested me to write to Council that the Same number of Militia may be kept up throughout the Winter as are at present in the field, or as thro' the Cource of the Campaign. Of these with me I look for a return this evening but Shall not detain the Express for it, I take the number to be about Sixteen hundred, and wth Gen^l Potter yet in Chester County, four or five hundred—of these a considerable number will be free in the beginning of January.

I make no doubt but that my last letters will fully Suggest to the Legislature of this State, altho' not immediately address'd to the Representative body, as will the natural observation of both branches of Government, the much exposed Situation of the Eastern parts of the State, but in a particular manner, the extensive Country on this Side the Scuykill. The Winter possition of the Continental Army at what is called the Forge or Valley Hill, will we hope chiefly preserve the County of Chester with Several Other good effects, whilst the attempt for the defence of the Counties of Philadelphia & Bucks appears to remain chiefly or rather wholly with the militia of the State; an effort as arduous as it is laudible, and if attended with only a partial degree of Success, will be all that that the most Sanguine reason can expect.

The Winter Arrangement on this Side Scuykill the General has thought proper (at the same time adding his own instructions) to commit to me. This I have digested in the best manner I can which hath met with his Excellencys approbation. The essential parts or outlines whereof are none other than taking a variable Station on every leading Road betwixt Scuykill and Delaware of which I find there are to the number of Nine, that may be called Capitol Roads—the general Service on each can only be to compete with Smaller partys of the Enemy, prevent Such from proceeding into the Country & intercept the business of Marketing or any other intercourse of the disaffected with the Enemy as far as circumstances will admit. Standing Picquets must be placed on every road, and Patroles aided by a few light Horse to precede as near the Enemy as may be reasonable. This mode will necessarily throw the troops into detachments, in that way they must be employed if employed to any good purpose at all. This method will be subject to its inconveniencies particularly feeding the Men, Changing the Battalions when some are free, delivery of Arms &c. but in a choice of difficulties, we have nothing for it but the least. The general arrangement with particular instructions to the Commander on each Road is all that the Season will permit me to do. The various movements & lodgings, are already too hard for me and severer weather must be at hand. General Potter says he can by no means tarry the Winter And Some Head these people must certainly have & very Suddenly else all will go to confusion. I had, therefore flattered my Self that from my letter by Doctor Duffield, a new appointment wou'd have been made, and the person ready for duty—a notice of this Sort I hope Soon to be favour'd with & think it already on the road.

Having the Hon^r to be

Your Excellencies

Most humb^l Serv^t

JOHN ARMSTRONG

WHO WAS THE MOTHER OF FRANKLIN'S SON.

An Inquiry demonstrating that she was Deborah Read,
wife of Benjamin Franklin.

BY CHARLES HENRY HART.

THIS important historical conundrum has been puzzling historical students into three centuries, but heretofore no answer worthy of serious consideration has been given. Had investigators not stretched out their arms so far in the search for the answer, they might have found it close within their hand's grasp. At least this is the view we shall present, for, as our title shows, it is the purpose of this inquiry to demonstrate that Deborah Read, the common law wife of Benjamin Franklin, was the mother of Franklin's son and this explains the close intimacy that existed among them and has been such a stumbling block to all writers who have touched upon the subject. While the evidence to sustain this view is necessarily circumstantial, it seems unanswerable as the facts cannot be the subject of cavil.

To understand the situation, it is incumbent upon us to present the circumstances that led up to Franklin's taking Deborah Read to wife, as he expresses it, and the circumstances shall be related in Franklin's own words in his autobiography, which, it must be remembered *was written for William Franklin*, a very important point to bear in mind, in this inquiry.

Franklin first saw Deborah Read on the day of his historic entrance into Philadelphia, with "a roll under each arm and eating the other." Shortly afterwards he became an inmate of her father's house, as a boarder, and propinquity had the usual effect upon two young persons of the opposite sexes, of putting them on more than friendly terms; as Franklin describes it "I had made some courtship during this time to Miss Read. I had great respect and affection for her and had

some reason to believe she had the same for me." But their extreme youth "only a little above eighteen" and his proposed visit to England, made a present marriage undesirable. He therefore sailed away from Philadelphia on the day before Christmas of 1724, setting foot on Philadelphia soil again October 11, 1726, after an absence of two years all to a fortnight beyond two months. He found that the fair Deborah in his absence had married "one Rogers a potter" with whom "she was never happy and soon parted from him, refusing to cohabit with him or bear his name, it being now said he had another wife. He was a worthless fellow * * * got into debt, ran away in 1727 or 1728, went to the West Indies and died there."¹

Franklin now looked about him for a wife and his mind turned most favorably to his old flame Debby Read. He says "Our mutual affection revived, but there were now great objections to our union. The match was indeed looked upon as invalid, a preceding wife being said to be living in England. But this *could not easily be proved*, because of the distance and tho' there was a report of his death, *it was not certain*. Then tho' it should be true, he had left many debts which his successor might be called upon to pay."² "We ventured, however, over all these difficulties, and *I took her to wife, September 1, 1730*. None of the inconveniences happened that we had apprehended; she proved a good and faithful helpmate, assisted me much by attending the shop; we throve together and have ever mutually endeavor'd to make each other happy. Thus *I corrected that great ERRATUM as well as I could*."

Franklin was a master of the English language with a perfectly honest mind absolutely free from subterfuge, and from his chosen words it is plain there was no formal mar-

¹ This mention of Rogers' death is of course not a contemporaneous statement but a fact ascertained long afterward and incorporated into the autobiography when it was written.

² Upon what principle this could be, we are at a loss to know, but it had its weight with Franklin.

riage ceremony performed to cement Franklin's union with Deborah Read, as indeed there could not be, without liability of prosecution for bigamy, when she had a husband who might be living, and they agreed, therefore, to live together openly as man and wife from that date until, by reputation and cohabitation, time should make them one in the eyes of the law.

Now as near as we can arrive at the date William Franklin was born just about the time that Benjamin Franklin took Deborah Read to wife. The only actual definite bit of evidence on the subject is a letter from William Franklin to his son William Temple Franklin, dated "London July 3, 1812" in which he writes "My health, considering *I am in my eighty-second year* is generally good".³ With these facts before us how pregnant with meaning for William Franklin, *for whom his father was writing*, is the last sentence quoted from the autobiography "*Thus I corrected that great ERRATUM as well as I could.*" What other error was there that the marrying of Deborah Read by Benjamin Franklin, would or could correct, and no plainer language was necessary to be used by a father to his son, who knew the truth about his birth. But as potent as this is on the point at issue it is only what may be called the *prima facies* of the case, the evidence to support it has yet to come and it does come unmistakably from Benjamin Franklin, Deborah Franklin, William Franklin, Sarah Franklin Bache and William Strahan.

As the chronological order of the testimony is not of the slightest consequence, I will present the latest in date first, as being the most important. Deborah Franklin died December 19, 1774, and five days later William Franklin writes from Philadelphia to his father in London: "I came here on Thursday last to attend the funeral of *my poor old mother*, who died the Monday noon preceeding." Nor is this an isolated instance of his calling Deborah Franklin by the

³ Catalogue of autographs sold by Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge London, June 19 to 24, 1897, p. 24, Lot 285.

honored name of "Mother." September 1, 1769, he writes to his father: "I came to town with Betsy⁴ on Monday last in order to stand for *my little nephew*. * * * * Mr. Baynton stood as proxy for you and named Benjamin Franklin⁵ and *my Mother* and Betsy were Godmothers." Again, we find him writing to William Strahan, April 25, 1763: "*My Mother* is so entirely averse to going to sea, that I believe my father will never be induc'd to see England again." Here are three conspicuous instances where William Franklin calls Deborah Franklin "MOTHER"—a sacred name he would certainly not use toward the wife of his father were she not in truth and in fact his own mother.

Nor does Deborah Franklin in any way disown him as her own son. On the contrary she fully recognizes and proudly claims him. On December 24, 1751, she writes to William Strahan, in one of the few autograph letters from her that exist: "*My Son* is gone to Boston on a visit to his Friends." This was just about the time that he had reached his majority, and she, with motherly pride on the occasion, advises her English correspondent of the interesting event. And Strahan, six years later, December 13, 1757, writes to her: "*Your son* I really think one of the prettiest young gentlemen seen here from America." Can it be imagined or conceived that any wife would call her husband's illegitimate child by another woman "*MY SON*," or would an intimate friend and correspondent of the family *compliment her* upon her husband's bastard child?

Now what has the father to say on this momentous subject. January 31, 1756, Franklin writes to his wife: "Billy presents his duty to *you and his grandmother* and love to *his sister*." This emphasizes the relationship and carries it to two other generations, "his grandmother" being old Mrs. Read, the mother of his mother, while "his sister" was presumably Sarah Franklin, then in her twelfth year; while the archaic

⁴ William Franklin's wife.

⁵ Benjamin Franklin Bache, son of Sarah Franklin Bache, born August 12, 1769.

expression "his duty," by itself fixes it, for a child owed "Duty" only to parents and grandparents. Two years later, January 14, 1758, Franklin repeats to his wife almost the same language: "Billy presents his duty to *you and mother* and love to *his sister*," and on February 19, 1758, he writes to her: "There is some music Billy bought for *his sister*." On November 8, 1764, Franklin writes to his daughter "Sallie": "Give my love to *your brother and sister*." This letter brings a new Richmond on the field, if that masculine patronymic may be applied to the gentler sex. That Franklin had a daughter, not commonly known, who married John Foxcroft,⁶ Franklin's Assistant Postmaster, there can be no doubt, and she too may have been the child of Deborah Read before length of time had made their union as binding as a marriage ceremony; or, it may be that Franklin refers, in this instance, to William Franklin's wife as "sister," he having married Elizabeth Downes, in London, September 4, 1762. On December 9, 1764, Franklin writes to his wife: "Love to *our Children*;" October 11, 1766, Id. to Id.: "My love to *our Children*;" January 6, 1773, Id. to Id.: "Love to all. Give mine to all that enquire concerning me and a good deal to *our Children*;" February 2, 1773, Id. to Id.: "My love to him and *our Children*;" July 6, 1773, Id. to Id.: "Love to *Our Children* and to Benny boy." What can be more conclusive on the question under consideration than this constant, repeated use of the plural "*OUR CHILDREN*" by Franklin in these letters to his wife? His special mention of "Benny boy," Benjamin Franklin Bache, in the last letter to her, shows that he did not include grandchildren in "*Our Children*," and can it be supposed that he would insult his wife, for whom he showed always so much consideration, by calling his illegitimate child by another woman her child to her very face. It is idle and absurd to attempt to give any other meaning to these words,

⁶ The True Benjamin Franklin, by Sidney George Fisher, p. 104.

than their natural and common one, for they will bear none other than that Deborah was the mother of William as well as of Sarah.

That this was well understood in the family circle and that the relation of brother and sister actually existed between William and Sarah, we find Sarah Franklin writing to her father, October 14, 1765, "I left *my brother* well." And that she had the warmest sisterly feelings of affection and regard for her brother is shown in a letter that she wrote to his son, William Temple Franklin,⁷ October 1, 1782. "My dear Nephew;—It is a long time since I have had a letter from you. When your *dear father* was in England and a very gay young gentleman, he found means of writing to me very often and very entertaining letters. I should hope the son had as much affection for me. I feel no less for him than *I did and now do for the father.*"

The only single item of contemporary writing with an adverse trend to it, is found in the Diary of Daniel Fisher of Virginia, who visited Philadelphia, in 1755, and lived in Franklin's house.⁸ Every other contemporaneous word bearing on the subject has been injected into some scurrilous political diatribe against Franklin, who had a host of enemies, of no more weight and no more worthy of respectful consideration than are such attacks to-day. After commenting upon Mrs. Franklin's turbulent character and jealousy, Fisher says: "She suspecting Mr. Franklin for having too great an esteem for his son in prejudice of herself and daughter," adds, "One day as I was sitting with her in the passage when the young gentleman came by she exclaimed to me (he not hearing): 'Mr. Fisher, there goes the greatest Villain upon earth.' This greatly

⁷ For the maternity of this young man examine Letters from Elizabeth Franklin to Benjamin Franklin, August 16, 1776, Duane's Domestic Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin, p. 70, and Benjamin Franklin to William Temple Franklin, September 19, 1776, and September 22, 1776, in Smyth's Writings of Benjamin Franklin, Vol. vi, pp. 467 and 469.

⁸ Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. xvii, p. 276,

confounded and perplexed me, but did not hinder her from pursuing her invectives in the foulest terms I ever heard from a gentlewoman." The inference might be drawn from Fisher's statement that no mother would speak in this manner of her own son. To us, however, it seems from the character given of Mrs. Franklin, by Fisher, that she would be equal to saying anything when aroused, and that mere inference from these words cannot overthrow the weight of the numerous convincing expressions by father, mother, son and sister that can have but the meaning contended for, and that out of their own mouths it is proved the mother of Franklin's son was Deborah, wife of Benjamin Franklin.

This view, too, clears both Franklin and his wife of the charges of loose morals often made against them by writers who could not understand how she could bring up in her own household the natural son of her husband by another woman. On the contrary it shows the highest type of morality and sense of honor and duty in what they did. What else should they do but bring up their own child in their household as one of the home circle? Even if Franklin had been able to marry with formal ceremony, it would not have legitimated the birth of William, for this fiction of the law, in Pennsylvania, is only a little more than half a century old.⁹ In making this inquiry the writer has been guided only by the desire to set wrong right by presenting this avalanche of contemporary proof, that cannot be gainsaid, in so important an incident in the life of one of the greatest of Americans.¹⁰

⁹ Act of May 14, 1857, P. L. 507, sec. 1.

¹⁰ All of the letters cited in this monograph will be found either in one of the editions of Franklin's Writings by Sparks, Bigelow or Smyth, or in the Mss. Collections of the American Philosophical Society, except when especially noted.



DAVID JAMES DOVE, Schoolmaster.
Drawn by BENJAMIN WEST.

ORIGINAL IN THE WEST COLLECTION
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

A PHILADELPHIA SCHOOLMASTER OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY JOSEPH JACKSON.

DAVID JAMES DOVE, for some years, during the middle of the Eighteenth century, was one of the best known characters in Philadelphia. In spite of his eccentricities, and his inclination to flit from one political party to the other, as the tide turned, or as he had worn out his welcome, he was acknowledged an able schoolmaster and a man of expedients. He was a many-sided person, and always was ardently engaged in forwarding his own interests. In his efforts in this latter direction, he brought into play some of his remarkable talents for caricaturing, and pamphleteering. If he did nothing else, he seems to have kept the people of Philadelphia amused by his own, and by answering scurrilities, both of which kept the printing presses of Steuart and Armbruster rather busy during the excitement occasioned by the Paxton Insurrection and the elections of 1764.

Very little appears to be known, or at least accessible to the student, about this strange character, who taught the three Rs to many of the sons, and to some few of the daughters of prominent Philadelphians during the nineteen years this city was his home. It is curious, that many of the pamphlets in which he was attacked are to this day attributed to him! A little search among these old tracts and pamphlets and caricatures, gives a very lively idea of the general character of Dove, if it does not supply all that one desires to know about him.

The date of his interment in the burying ground of Christ Church is a matter of record, but the date of his birth is a matter of speculation. A letter written by Franklin to his old friend Dr. Samuel Johnson, under the date December 24, 1751, throws a little light upon this. "The English master of the Academy and College of Philadelphia" wrote

Franklin, "is Mr. Dove, a gentleman about your age, who formerly taught grammar sixteen years at Chichester, in England. He is an excellent master and his scholars have made a surprising progress." It may be pertinent to explain here that Dr. Johnson was born in 1709, and consequently if Dove were about his age, he must have been born about the same year.

Before Dove came to this country very little is to be learned of him, except the rather libellous statements about his orgies which appear in the pages of that remarkable, almost monstrous, book "The Life and Adventures of the Chevalier John Taylor." The stories that the quack physician, the "Chevalier" Taylor, relates may have been founded upon fact, and may give some inkling of the causes that led the excellent schoolmaster to leave Chichester and emigrate to America. These volumes in which appeared the Adventures of the Chevalier Taylor fortunately for him did not appear until ten or eleven years after Dove had proved himself to be an able teacher in Philadelphia. For the remainder of his life, however, they proved the bane of his existence, and kept him constantly denying the assertions as "lies."

Dove came to Philadelphia in the latter part of the year 1750. The records of the Academy and College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, are the authority for that assertion. He applied to the trustees of the Academy, and was given a place as English master, and as so little was known of his antecedents, except what he himself had told them, he was placed on probation for a year. At least, he was appointed for a year, at a salary of £150, which, excepting that of Dr. Smith, later the Provost, was the highest salary paid by the institution. This leads to the supposition that Dove was no ordinary schoolmaster, and, indeed, his actions while he was at the Academy showed that he was a man of force, of restless ambition, and tireless energy; a good educator, and had a sharp eye open to the main chance.

If one may be permitted to speculate a little about Dove's antecedents, it may be suggested that perhaps he was brother to that Nathaniel Dove (1710-1754) who was master of a school at Hoxton, near London, and who gained some celebrity as a calligrapher, and as author of "The Progress of Time." There is yet another Dove, who may have been an ancestor of both these gentlemen. This is the Dove who was the compiler of almanacs, during the Commonwealth. There are several of these old publications in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania's collection; two of them are "Speculum anni a partu Virginis," etc., one for the year 1644 and the other for the year 1645. There is just the faintest suspicion that this old almanac maker and the David James Dove the schoolmaster and pamphleteer, belonged to the same family. In the *Speculum* the Dove of the Commonwealth attempts to predict the weather for the seasons, and it may be certain that he always was successful, for, of the spring of 1644, he says it will be forward and warm, and for the following winter he predicts "the winter is like enough to be cold," and he says that snow may be expected. There is to be seen a great deal of the mountebank that was to be found in David James Dove, and the same feverish desire for the printed page. That this Dove, whose *Speculum* was printed at Cambridge, for 1644, and in London, for 1645, was the grandfather of David James Dove, is offerered only as a suggestion, but it is likely to have been the case.

The masterful character of our Philadelphia Dove speedily became apparent to the trustees of the Academy. Dove had scarcely entered the institution until he had announced the launching of a private scheme. His scheme of life was to hold a mastership, and to have at the same time a private school, and a boarding house. So it will be seen had he lived in these times, he probably would have headed a trust, for he had all the ability for organization, and all the insight to appreciate the importance of grouping together under his single control all available money.

At the same time he entered the Academy he kept boarders, and one of them at least became a man of importance. This was Charles Thomson, who at the time was ready to enter the Academy as an instructor or usher. Whether Dove assisted the young man, who subsequently became famous as the Secretary of Congress, and also for his translation of the Greek Testament, is not known, but shortly after Dove had begun his work in the institution, Thomson was his assistant. It was about this time that Thomson desired to change his boarding house, but he had heard that Dove was accustomed to speak freely and not always truthfully about all persons with whom he came in contact, and in order to forestall any scandal being circulated after he left the Dove homestead, Thomson asked both Dove and his wife to sign a statement that he had conducted himself satisfactorily as a boarder while living under their roof. Dove was taken unawares, and readily signed the statement, and Thomson departed the next day.

Dove actually began his labors as Master of English in the Academy in January, 1751, and in August of the same year he announced in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, that he would open a school for young ladies, where the daughters of Philadelphians "might be instructed in some parts of learning, as they are taught at the Academy. Mr. Dove proposes to open a school at said Academy, for young ladies, on Monday next, in which will be carefully taught the English grammar; the true way of spelling, and pronouncing properly; together with fair writing, arithmetick, and accounts; so that the plan recommended by the Universal Spectator may be exactly pursued. Price ten shillings entrance and twenty shillings per quarter."

In view of the publicity thus given the plan, it is presumed that the trustees were agreeable to it. Certainly, Dove by his ability built up the Academy, for in December of the same year there were ninety pupils in the English Department, and Dove was given another assistant, Mr. Peisley. It was at this period that Richard Peters, Jr.,

nephew of Richard Peters, one of the trustees, and later owner of Belmont, and a Judge of the United States District Court, was one of his students. He describes Dove as a "sarcastic and ill-tempered doggerelizer, who was but ironically *Dove*, for his temper was that of a hawk, and his pen the beak of a falcon pouncing upon his prey."

Dove now had two assistants, and the trustees discovered that the real reason for so much assistance was because the English Master was spending virtually all his time instructing the young ladies in "the true way of spelling, and pronouncing properly, together with fair writing, arithmetick and accounts." It was found that Dove was accustomed to leave his class at eleven o'clock in the morning, and at four o'clock in the afternoon, so Mr. Franklin and Mr. Peters were appointed a committee by the trustees to speak to him about these unseemly actions.

There is just the least bit of humor to be found in the report of the committee, which indicates that they were powerless to bring Dove to their way of thinking. They said he had acknowledged his actions, but "seemed desirous of being indulged in that practice." This was the beginning of Dove's end in the Academy. He persisted, as he always did, for he was a law unto himself, and no board of trustees ever was able to do anything with him. Wherever it was tried it ended in failure, and in Dove retiring. He fought the question out with the trustees, and insisted in maintaining his private school, and in also continuing at the Academy, where he had trained two of the students to usher, and had an assistant as well. Dove would not reform so the trustees gave him a quarter's warning, after he had placed the matter in the light of either accepting his terms or of accepting his resignation.

Mr. Kinnersley took over the English Department in July, 1753, when Dove finally quitted the institution. And it now appears that Dove started a private school of his own. For the next seven years he seems to have been thus engaged, when he was not siding against the Academy and the

political party which it represented. For a part of this period at least he maintained a school in Videll's Alley, now called Ionic Street, a small, narrow thoroughfare below Chestnut Street, which runs from Second to Third. The last generation probably remembers the street as Carter's Alley, which name it bore for a good many years.

While he was here, we have another picture of the schoolmaster. Here, too, he had as pupils boys who became well known as men. One of these was the memoir writer Graydon. Although Graydon does not give the years when he attended the instruction of Dove, it may be placed as about 1759-60, for Graydon mentions that he was about eight years old at the time, and he was born in 1752.

"It was his practice in his school," writes Graydon in his "Memoirs of a Life," etc., "to substitute disgrace for corporal punishment. His birch was rarely used in canonical method, but was generally stuck in to the back part of the collar of the unfortunate culprit, who, with this badge of disgrace towering above his nape like a broom at the masthead of a vessel for sale, was compelled to take his stand upon the top of the form for such a period of time as his offence was thought to deserve. He had another contrivance for boys who were late in their morning attendance. This was to dispatch a committee of five or six scholars for them, with a bell and lighted lantern, and with this 'odd equipage,' in broad daylight, the bell all the while tingling, were they escorted through the streets to school. As Dove affected a strict regard to justice in his dispensations of punishment, and always preferred a willingness to have an equal measure of it meted out to himself in case of his transgressing, the boys took him at his word; and one morning when he had overstayed his time, either through laziness, inattention, or design, he found himself waited upon in the usual form. He immediately admitted the justice of the procedure, and putting himself behind the lantern and bell, marched with great solemnity to school, to the no small gratification of the boys and the entertainment of the spectators. But this incident took place before I became a scholar. It was once my lot to be attended in this manner, but what had been sport to my tutor was to me a serious punishment.

"The school at this time was kept in Videll's Alley, which opened into Second street, a little below Chestnut street. It counted a number of scholars of both sexes, though chiefly boys; and the assistant, or writing master, was John Reily, a very expert penman and conveyancer, a man of some note, who, in his gayer moods, affected a pompous and technical phraseology. He is characterized under the name of 'Parch-

ment' in a farce written some forty years ago, and which, having at least the merit of novelty and personality, was a very popular drama, though never brought to the stage."

The "farce" alluded to was the comic opera called "The Disappointment," written by Col. Thomas Forrest, who himself was quite as much a "character" as was Dove.

After Dove left the Academy he seems to have devoted his attention to his school. If he had any interest in politics, it seems to have been at first entirely incited by his opposition to those in authority in the Academy.

For a long period of years, which roughly may be said to have been between 1756 and 1765, there was the greatest political excitement in the province of Pennsylvania. It is difficult, if not impossible to picture this period in a phrase or even a sentence. It would require a study of most complicated conditions, yet the chief figures and in general the parts they played may be indicated sufficiently for the purpose here, which is only to show how Dove became a political handyman and pamphleteer.

Affairs in the province were most unsettled in 1756. There was a determined attempt to get rid of the Quaker party. The war with the French and Indians was in progress, and in apprehension of an attempt on the capital city of the province, or on some of the territory of Pennsylvania, a Militia Law was passed, which while not compulsory, at least made it necessary for the Assembly to vote supplies. Naturally this placed the Quakers in a difficult position. They were glad enough to have troops to defend their property and their lives, but they did not intend to allow it to be said that Quakers voted supplies for military purposes. They did the only thing they could do under the circumstances, especially as they did not have the tact to admit that conditions required that they should at least temporarily lay aside their ideas and tenets which were at variance with the voting of supplies for military purposes. They removed themselves from their awkward position by declining reelection. But they took the greatest care to send to the Assembly men who would vote as they feared to do, and

thereby gave to public life a man who had a remarkable, but comparatively short career, Joseph Galloway. His ability was of so high an order that Franklin immediately selected him as his lieutenant, and when he went to Europe to represent the province, Galloway was given the reins of leadership of the Assembly party.

The Academy and College became identified with the Proprietary Party, and the provost, Dr. William Smith, became very active in its service. He not only defended the party from the assaults made on it in and out of the Assembly by the Quakers and their adherents, among whom should be regarded the German element in the Province, who were so much opposed to the meddling of the English Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge Among the Germans in Pennsylvania, which had for its chief exponent here, Dr. Smith, that they almost instinctively turned to the Quakers, whom they found also being opposed by the Proprietary Party, which was principally Church of England, and Presbyterian in its composition. The Society mentioned had for its object the teaching of the English language to the children of the Germans, who at this time had insisted upon remaining quite as much German as they were before they came to Pennsylvania. The Germans resisted this attempt to denationalize them, for it must be understood that they had no interest in America other than that of being allowed liberty of conscience. Also at that time, there really was nothing of what later has been alluded to as the American institutions.

Dr. Smith wrote a libel on the Assembly, and it had him arrested and placed in jail for his temerity. About the same time Judge William Moore, of Moore Hall, Chester County, a magistrate who had great wealth and great influence, was arrested for arraigning the Legislature for cordially entertaining of a petition asking for his removal on account of his tyrannous practices. He denounced the action as "virulent and scandalous." It was very generally rumored that Dr. Smith was the real author of this arraign-

ment of the Assembly. Moore lay in prison for many months, but Dr. Smith managed to be freed. The earliest specimen of Dove's political pamphleteering belongs to this period. It is a broad, vulgar, but intensely comic caricature, entitled, "Labor in Vain; or, An Attempt to Wash a Black-Moor White." Although J. Francis Fisher, in his "Early Poets of Pennsylvania," said that he did not know of a single copy of Dove's caricatures remaining, there is a copy of this rare print, which is an etching by Dove, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania's collections. It is said that Dove to sell these prints hung them up in taverns, barber shops and other public places. There is no need to occupy much space with any consideration of Dove as an artist. In this rôle he is only a talented amateur, and it is more than probable he called to his aid some other and more practised hand to make the designs on the copper plates. The prints always have been attributed to Dove, but it should be understood that none of them bear his name, and there is no other evidence than contemporary rumor that he really etched the plates himself. In this connection it may be remarked that it is probable Dove suggested the designs, and may even have roughly sketched his ideas on paper, but that some engraver finished the work. There is, however, an individuality about these old caricatures that shows their inventor to have been something of a genius in this line, but they are so broad that Rowlandson becomes tame by comparison, and Gillray suitable for a child's album.

From later developments, it would seem that soon after Galloway entered the Assembly, he became acquainted with Dove. Whether this acquaintanceship was sought by the leader or by the schoolmaster, makes little difference, but it seems certain that Galloway appeared to believe that Dove might be useful to his party. It may have been that Dove hurled his venomous prints and pamphlets at the Proprietary party, and at the Academy and College, out of pure vindictiveness, which spirit he is known to have had well developed, and gratitude may have prompted Galloway to make use of this handy thunderbolt against his political

enemies. But speculations such as these where there is so little of fact to substantiate them, may be unprofitable.

Certain it is that Dove never during these times neglected an occasion to rail at the administration of the Academy and College. In 1758, when the Academy had announced a lottery to raise a sum said to be \$3000, Dove wrote and published a pamphlet entitled: "The Lottery. A Dialogue between Mr. Thomas Trueman and Mr. Humphrey Dupe." Copies of this little tract are very rare, and the one in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has endorsed upon its title page "31 December 1758. This was bought by C. Moore of Dove's Housekeeper, who says he sold them publickly." There is no name of printer or publisher, as was customary in those days in the pamphlet war, but it is probable that this, like others assigned to Dove and his side in the controversy, was from the press of Andrew Steuart, although it has been assigned to the Germantown printer Christopher Sower. "The Lottery" consists of 16 small octavo pages, the last four being filled with two doggerel poems, one entitled "The Lottery," and the other "The Academy Garland."

The author writes very bitterly about the morality of lotteries in general, but, in view of the estimate placed upon his moral character by his opponents, it is uncertain whether Dove wrote from conviction or from, which seems more likely, a desire to avenge himself on the authorities of the Academy and College. Trueman, in the dialogue says that lotteries are manifestly no better than public frauds and imposition, "solely calculated to enrich the Proprietors at the expence of those who are silly enough to adventure in them, viz, the *Credulous* and the *Covetous*."

Of course, it is the duty of Humphrey Dupe to defend the lottery scheme, who argues that "Our Lotteries is far different; they are designed to support a noble seminary of Learning, where a knowledge of the languages and every species of science and Philosophy are skillfully taught and explained; where youth are trained up in Virtue and Piety; fitted by the Precepts, and fired by the examples of their

Tutors to perform all the duties of civil, social and domestic Life; where zeal temper'd with Charity and Meekness, Love of Truth, and Liberty, Benevolence to Mankind in general, public Spirit, Gratitude to benefactors, Fidelity to Friends, Honour, Humanity, good breeding and politeness in every circumstance of conduct and carriage, are so effectively impressed upon their tender minds, as to render them when grown up, the strong pillars and shining Ornaments of their Country."

The "Garland" and the song about the Lottery, which was announced as "An excellent old ballad in the Tune of Furbelowes O, etc.," there is no suspicion of real poetic feeling. It is doggerel, but at least not below the standard of political arguments in verse of the period. If Galloway, and the Quaker or Anti-Governor's party did not inspire the tract, it may be imagined that they were not indifferent to its success. It may have been a purely private venture of the schoolmaster, or it may have been a work that was subsidized by opponents of Dr. Smith and the Academy.

It was about this time that the Germantown Academy was created, and it is now very well understood that that institution was in the beginning aimed at the successful Academy and College of Philadelphia. Galloway and Thomas Wharton were closely identified with the beginnings of the Union School in Germantown, as it was originally called. The Germans and the Quakers, while not holding anything in common but a common enemy, had on several occasions worked hand in hand. Both were lined up against the rapidly growing influence of the Governor's party, and seemed to feel that together they could withstand its inroads upon the things both Quakers and Germans held most dear.

When the Germantown Academy, and we may call it by that name, although it was not until nearly forty years later that it was so known, was opened Dove received the appointment as English Master. There were two departments in the Germantown institution, one the German School, whose first Master was Hilarius Becker, and the English

School, under Dove. The Academy was opened in the summer of 1761, and Dove was placed at the head of the English department at a salary of one hundred pounds a year.

Dove once more showed that he was only ironically Dove, almost as soon as he was warm in Germantown. He drove one or two assistants from the school by his ungovernable temper, and was soon in the thick of a dispute with the good German burghers, because he insisted on running the school in his own way, and in sending his students on private errands. He also showed that he still had an eye to the main chance by immediately contracting for the erection of a boarding school beside the Academy. It is plain that the good Germans were sadly unequal to the task of coping with Dove. He paid no attention to their requests, nor to the demands of the trustees. No sovereign on a throne was more unconcerned about what his subjects thought of him than was Dove of the opinions of the Germantowners. It was plain that the relations could not remain as they were. Even the party which was supporting him, and which owed something to his support, could not stand the strain forever. Galloway soon retired, and it is doubtful if even he would have been able to smooth over matters with the burghers.

There is something intensely comic in the picture of the good people of Germantown being walked over roughshod, of being ignored in their own school, of having their authority regarded as of no account, and Dove, all the while superintending the erection of his private school next door to the Academy. Under the circumstances, it may be assumed that Dove's ability as a tutor must have been very great, to have enabled him to continue at the Academy. But there comes a breaking point, and even in Germantown this point was reached, after a series of rebuffs entertained by the trustees from their English Master.

Early in 1763, there was presented a "Remonstrance" to the Trustees signed by a large number of Contributors. At the time the Trustees were acting on this remonstrance which had to do with the excessive charges for tuition, they

placed themselves on record as having informed Dove he must not send boys on errands and that he must not engage any more boarders. Dove at the time had twenty boarding pupils lodged in his house, and some of the washing and ironing was done in the Academy rooms. Dove appeared to look upon the whole institution as an enterprise run principally for his benefit, and as things went he was very successful financially.

Finally in June, 1763, the trustees adopted a minute setting forth that Dove had publicly declared that he would not obey the resolutions of the Board any longer than until he had his building finished. So it was unanimously resolved to remove the English Master. But here again they showed their ignorance of Dove's method. He listened, but he did not attempt to move. He continued to hold the fort, even after the Trustees, having advertised, had secured a new schoolmaster, who proved later to be a man of eminence,—Pelatiah Webster, the man who is credited with having been the architect of the Constitution of the United States. Webster was appointed, and was ready to take charge in September, of 1763, but Dove refused to budge. In this connection some interesting light on the situation is found in a letter in the Wharton Papers in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

There is no need to quote the whole of this letter, which already has been printed in the pages of this magazine. But it may be mentioned that it bears the date of September 26th, 1763, and is signed by eight of the contributors of Germantown Academy. It is evidently addressed to Galloway and informs him that a meeting has been held to devise a way of getting possession of the schoolhouse, which, it appears Dove held, and advising Galloway and Wharton that they are expected to meet the committee the following day at 10 o'clock. The letter concludes: "We pay so much respect to your citizens that we are determined to do nothing in the present affair without you which we cannot suspect should prove cowards in the day of battle. Until which time we shall subscribe your real friends." The letter is

endorsed probably as an answer by Galloway, saying that he will wait on Wharton the next day and both will go out to Germantown, "and convince those Gent. at Germt. we are not cowards."

The upshot of the matter was that Dove retreated under fire. He went to his own schoolhouse next door, and he took with him "an ax, a saw and a list of scholars" much to the chagrin of the trustees. The matter remained open until August of the following year, when some understanding seems to have been arrived at. Whether Dove had retained these valued possessions because of some unpaid account, or because he desired to be spiteful, cannot now be learned.

Dove's school in School House Lane, Germantown, appears to have been successful for some years. Certainly he remained there until 1767, when he returned to the city, and for some time seems to have been in retirement.

Just after he had retired from the English Mastership of the Germantown Academy, the Paxton boy disorders began to menace the peace of the Province, and Dove once again was in his element. He now had had his quarrels with both parties. He had been forced to leave the Academy and College of Philadelphia, and as a consequence had become its most determined hater, and likewise the determined opponent of the political party its authorities were understood to represent. Now, having gone over to the Quakers and the Germans, he had fallen out with them, and the only alternative left for so ardent a politician as Dove, was to immediately attach himself to his old love. It was simply impossible for a man of Dove's calibre to play politics as an independent, for he had no following. He was an able schoolmaster, a good, lively pamphleteer, but he had no following. He played politics but he was not a politician.

The action of the Quakers in the Paxton troubles came at an opportune time for Dove. It gave him an excellent theme, and he applied what was called his scurrility as vigorously against the Quakers as ever he had against their enemies. It is more than probable that on that eventful

Sunday morning when Franklin, Galloway, Benjamin Chew, and Thomas Wharton went out to Germantown to meet the determined backwoodsmen, and had that conference that influenced the Paxton Boys to return, without attacking the city, Dove was a spectator. The Paxton Boys halted not more than six hundred feet from Dove's school, and an energetic, curious person of his stamp would scarce let pass such an opportunity to gain information that would prove useful in his campaign.

Soon after there appeared a pamphlet entitled, "The Quaker Unmask'd, or, Plain Truth: Humbly Addressed to the Consideration of all the Freemen of Pennsylvania." The imprint gives Philadelphia as the place but omits the name of the printer, who is said to have been the unfortunate Andrew Steuart, an Irishman, who printed in Pennsylvania and in North Carolina, some controversial literature. That this little tract was written by Dove rests upon the inscription of a copy found in Bethlehem, which assigns the authorship to him. Heretofore it had been regarded as a work by Franklin. It pictures the Quaker as a very shiftY person, and says the Frontier inhabitants have been both loyal and peaceable members of society and that the Quakers were glad to have these "Back Inhabitants" removed by the Indians, as "lessening a growing party against them."

These were very stirring times both in Philadelphia and throughout the Province of Pennsylvania. There was no dearth of pamphlets and caricatures. Dove himself, seems to have been the author of a few, but was the victim of many more. Looking at the conflict of this paper war down a vista of a century and a half, it will appear to the unprejudiced student that Dove seems to have had the best of the argument. All the pamphlets that are known to have come from his hand show a very clear and able understanding of the situation, and he was able to deal some powerful blows at his opponents in a generally legitimate manner, when he was not drawing caricatures. On the other hand the retorts against Dove were aimed solely at him, and only inferentially at the party he was supposed to serve. They were directed at his re-

puted immoral character, and in the light of present day usage, this is not an answer to an argument.

The majority of the pamphlets aimed at Dove were the work of Isaac Hunt, the father of Leigh Hunt, who had just retired from the Academy and College without his degree, because of his activity as a political pamphleteer. They are intensely comic, and a trifle indecent at times, but they show a wonderful power for satire and invective. Yet they are not argument. One of these productions is a broadside, headed "The Authentic One," evidently the work of Hunt, although, strange to relate, it has been over and over again catalogued as the production of Dove. This attack is in the form of an invocation to the Devil, whose majesty Dove is believed to worship. It is a clever bit of writing, but apart from its humor of a kind, could have had very little weight in the "war" then proceeding.

One of the most extended series of attacks of this kind leveled at Dove, was also the work of Hunt. This was a series of eight tracts with various titles, the first being entitled, "The Substance of an Exercise had this Morning in Scurrility Hall." These were issued in 1765, and the only complete set known to the writer is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The work is generally in the form of a dialogue, and represents Dove asserting that he will arise Phoenix-like and turn their arms against the scoundrels who have given currency to the lies told of him in the book of Chevalier Taylor. Franklin throughout is ironically referred to by Dove as the "Great Man," and his son William Franklin as "My Son," and as "Tweedle." The first number announces that it "is to be continued occasionally."

During the election of 1764, Hunt wrote a broadside of verses aimed at Dove, and the sheet was headed by a view of the old Court House at Second and Market Streets. The engraving seems to be the work of Dawkins. The sheet is entitled "The Medley." There is an answer to this, said to have been the work of Dove, entitled "The Counter Medley," in which a similar view is engraved. This is

described as "a proper answer to all the Dunces of the Medley and their abettors."

In a letter to William Strahan, William Franklin wrote under date of May 1, 1764, that the provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland seem to be in a state of anarchy. The elder Franklin was vigorously attacked by Dove, now in the employ, or at least attached to the Proprietary Party, and his attacks became so annoying that William Franklin, in a letter to Strahan, which will appear in the October number of this Magazine, wrote that the Proprietary Party being unable to reply to the lashing they received by an answer to their ridicule by Hughes, they "employed one Dove, a fellow who has some talent, for the lowest kind of scurrility, to publish a print, with some verses annex'd, villifying my father & some of the most worthy men in the province. By way of revenge some writer has attack'd them in their own Way, & turn'd all Dove's verses against Mr. Allen, he being the Head of the Proprietary Party. This has enraged him excessively as those Verses & the Print had cost him upwards of £25. You will probably have seen before this reaches you, the Advertisement, Answer & Reply, as they were printed in Mr. Hall's Newspaper, & therefore I send you the enclosed Pamphlet, which is likely to put a stop to that kind of writing here for the future, as was the intention of the author."

This pamphlet, is that entitled "An Humble Attempt at Scurrility In Imitation of Those Great Masters of the Art, the Rev. Dr. S — th, the Rev. Dr. Al — n, the Rev. Mr. Ew — n, Esq., the Irreverend D. J. D — ve, and the Heroic J — n D — n, Esq. Being a Full Answer to the Observations on Mr. H — s's Advertisement. By Jack Retort, Student in Scurrility, Quilsylvania; Printed, 1765."

So far as can now be determined, this pamphlet did end the "war." Or it may be that all interest in the constant exchange of abuse had ceased to exert any influence. If any similar publications were issued after this time they are not now very easily identified, and it may be concluded that the Stamp Act, and its attendant excitement removed

the attention from the local politicians to those higher up in England.

Dove, as has been noted, retired from his school in Germantown in 1767, and came to Philadelphia to live in retirement. It would appear that either he found retirement irksome to one of his energies, or that he found himself in need of more money. At any rate, in the columns of the "Pennsylvania Chronicle," for October 26—November 2, of that year he published an advertisement announcing that at the "repeated solicitation of many gentlemen and ladies, whom Mr. Dove has formerly had the honor of instructing, he purposes, God willing, to open a school at his house in Front Street, near the corner of Arch Street, on Monday, November ninth, where youth of both sexes in separate apartments will be taught to read, cypher, and speak their own language according to the exact rules of grammar."

How long Dove kept this school may not now be known but from the language of his will it would seem that he was conducting it up to the time of his fatal illness, in February, 1769. His will bearing the date of February 5, 1769, notes the fact that he is sick, and indicates that while not in opulent circumstances, he at least had some small fortune. He bequeaths to Sarah Warfield, widow, £100, and to his faithful assistant, Joseph Rothwell, £10. To Dr. Kearsley, he gives his air pump "of Sir Isaac Newton," and his "rolin cone oppera glass and prism, and his diving bell." To his godson, William Jenkin, he leaves £10 in trust, and he releases his servant, Matthew McGuire, from his indentures.

The executors under the testament are Benjamin Condry, and Paul Isaac Voto, and to them he bequeaths £50. The residue of his estate is left to the children of his sister, Mary Meadows. The will is witnessed by Matthew Dillworth, and Allen McLean. There is a codicil dated March 1, 1769, in which the testator's books are left to Dr. Glentworth. It is witnessed by Joseph Rothell. Dove died a month later, and was buried in the burying ground of Christ Church on April 4, 1769. His will was admitted to probate the following day.

ORDERLY BOOK OF THE
SECOND PENNSYLVANIA CONTINENTAL LINE
COL. HENRY BICKER.

At Valley Forge, March 29,—May 27, 1778.

EDITED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

The dates of the birth and death of Col. Henry Bicker have not been ascertained, but it is known that he was married, as two of his sons, commissioned officers, served with him in the Third Pennsylvania Battalion of Infantry, Col. John Shee. His surname is found among the early Provincial residents of the city of New York. In 1755, he was commissioned Lieutenant of Captain William Skinner's company of Col. Peter Schuyler's New Jersey regiment, raised for one year of service for the defence of the frontiers. He was promoted captain, captured at Oswego, and was kept a prisoner of war for fourteen months. After his release, he was appointed Quarter Master of General Gage's regiment and served to the close of the war. In 1766, he was a resident of New Brunswick, N. J., where for a time he was in business as a hatter and later proprietor of the "Tree of Liberty," a favorably known inn of the town.

On the breaking out of hostilities between the Colonies and the mother country, Henry Bicker offered his services and was commissioned January 4, 1776, Major of the Third Pennsylvania Battalion of Infantry, Col. John Shee, recruited under the resolution of Congress, December 9, 1775, authorizing the raising of "four battalions more in the colony of Pennsylvania." The officers were principally Philadelphians, but the companies were filled up by recruits from Pennsylvania and the neighboring colonies. On June 11th, Congress ordered the battalion to New York, where it was assigned to the brigade of Gen. Thomas Mifflin, and began the construction of Fort Washington, under the

direction of Col. Rufus Putnam. Here they remained until the battle of Long Island, when they were ordered to New York, reaching there in the afternoon after the battle was over. The following day they were transported to the entrenchments at Brooklyn. On July 30th, they returned to New York, and later to their old encampment at Fort Washington. Walter Bicker, then Adjutant, and Henry Bicker, Jr., a Second Lieutenant of the regiment, were taken prisoners on the surrender of the fort. About three weeks prior to the investment of Fort Washington, Major Bicker was transferred to the Tenth Pennsylvania Line Infantry, Col. Joseph Penrose, and after a short service in this regiment, was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and assigned to the Sixth Pennsylvania Line Infantry, between the time Col. Magaw was a prisoner of war and the appointment of Col. Josiah Harmar to the command of the regiment. On June 6, 1777, Lieut. Col. Bicker was promoted Colonel of the Second Pennsylvania Line Infantry, and was in command of the regiment at the battles of Brandywine, Germantown and Whitemarsh, in which it lost heavily, and at Valley Forge, where it was in the First Brigade, Col. James Chambers commanding, of Wayne's Division Pennsylvania Line. The Executive Council of Pennsylvania having resolved to incorporate the Thirteenth Regiment with the Second, Col. Walter Stewart was appointed to the command July 1, 1778, Col. Bicker became supernumerary, and his name disappears from the service.

John Irvin, Adjutant of the Second Regiment Pennsylvania Line, entered the service January 20, 1776, as Ensign in the First Pennsylvania Battalion, Col. John Philip De Haas. At the expiration of his term of service he was commissioned First Lieutenant, Second Pennsylvania Line Infantry, and at the affair at Paoli was badly wounded. Promoted Captain-Lieutenant January 1, 1779, and Captain May 16, 1780, *vice*-Capt. Jacob Ashmead resigned. He was also Commissary of the commanding general and staff at New Windsor on the Hudson, New York, in March of

1781. Captain Irvin died at Pittsburgh, Penna., May 11, 1808, and was buried in the church-yard of the First Presbyterian Church.

The Orderly Book was presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by the late Joseph E. Gillingham. It is in very good condition, with the original covers, and the fly-leaf is filled with autographs and writings, among them Capt. John Bankson, of the Second, and Lieut. Andrew Lytle, of the Fifth Pennsylvania Line, and these notes: "John Irvin, Adjutant, Orderly Book," and "Living at this date, June 29, 1816, of those mentioned in this book:

"Ensign Bloomfield, . . Gov. of New Jersey,

"Marquis de la Fayette, . in durance vile,

"Major Linnard, . . . Q. M. Gen. U. S. A."

ORDERLY BOOK.

LANCASTER Feby 26th 1778.

*Garrison Orders.*¹

The same reasons which prevented his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief from determining on the Sentences of the Court Martial ordered by the Marquis de la Fayette, Major Genl. &c., apply against the proceedings of the Court Directed by Gen^l Wayne in the Case of Lieuts. McMichael² and Dickinson.³ His Excellency having return'd the order of Gen^l Wayne for holding said Court, has been pleased to Direct that L^t. McMichael & Dickinson be tryed by the Gen^l Court Martial now sitting at this place, of which all persons concerned, are to take Notice.

¹ The "Garrison Orders," Lancaster, although preceding, has evidently no connection with the Valley Forge orders; the handwriting is not that of Adjutant Irvin.

² For biographical sketch and diary of Lieut. James McMichael, see *Penna. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, Vol. xvi, p. 129 *et seq.*

³ *Richard Dickenson*, Ensign 6 North Carolina Line April, 1777; Lieutenant Oct., 1777; transferred to 1 North Carolina June, 1778; dismissed Nov., 1779.

His Excellency having been pleased to approve of the order of — Directing that not more than one Ration pr. Diem be Issued to Any officer either of the line or Staff, and that no back Rations be paid up in provisions. The Issuing Commissary is therefore, to pay the strictest attention to this order, the least Deviation from which will be taken Notice of.

So soon as the returns for the Clothing are compleat, which must be done with the greatest exactitude, they shall be brought to the Commanding Officer that the Articles may be drawn from the Clothier General and distributed to the Soldiery. The Officers Commanding Detachments are to pay attention to the men under their command to prevent them embezzeling their Clothes.

Geo. Gibson Co^l.⁴
Comm^{dg}.

LANCASTER 28th Feby. 1778.

The Hon'ble the Supreme Executive Council of this State, having deliv'd their instructions to the Officers sent by His Excell'y, the Commander-in-Chief, for the purpose of recruiting men to compleat the regiments from this State on the Continental Establishmen^t.—It is expected the officers will immediately repair to the Stations appointed them & exert themselves in the prosecution of this important business, the necessity for which must be so obvious to the Gentⁿ Officers, as to render any further recommendation on this Head unnecessary.

A Garrison Court Martial to sit this day for the Tryal of all the prisoners now in confinem^t in the Guard house. The Court will refer the tryal of any prisoners they may find guilty of Capital offences to the General Court Martial now sitting, reporting the names & crimes of all such persons so to be tryed.

⁴ *George Gibson* was commissioned Feb., 1776, Captain First Virginia Line, promoted Major Fourth Virginia March, 1777; promoted Colonel First Virginia State Regiment June, 1777, which he commanded to January, 1782. Colonel of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey Levies in 1791; mortally wounded Nov. 4, 1791, in a fight with Indians near Fort Recovery, O. (Sihot, Clair's Defeat), and died Dec. 11, following.

LANCASTER, March y^e 6th, 1778.

Such soldiers as are employed by the mechaniks of this Town not Absolutely in the Continental Service, are ordered to repair immediatly to the Adj^t. at the Hospital in order that they may be put to work for the Continent. The Issuing Comisary is to apply to Fred^k. Anspack and Mr. Adam Reigart⁵ for Beef, who will supply him with such Quantities as they can spare for the use of the Troops. A Subaltern's Command to hold themselves in readiness to march, to be furnished with 5 days provisions.

The Officers who have the care of the Detach'd Corps in this Town, are requested to make enquiries after the Soldiers alluded to in this order, as there is the greatest want of Tailors and Shoemakers to furnish Clothing for the Army.

GEO. GIBSON Colⁿ.

[Valley Forge.]

Exercise previous to Guard mounting, Major Wallace,⁶ Brigade Inspector in Gen^l. Woodford's Brigade; will com-

⁵ *Adam Reigart*, for many years proprietor of "The Grape," Lancaster, Pa., was Lieut. Colonel of the First Battalion Lancaster County Associators, Col. George Ross, and served in the campaign in the vicinity of Amboy, N. J. He was elected Assistant Burgess of Lancaster in 1777, and a member of Assembly in 1780. From 1789 to his death, in the summer of 1813, he was Treasurer of the Union Fire Company, of which he had been a member since 1764. "The Grape," one of the notable hostelries of Lancaster, and the Whig headquarters during the Revolution, was located on Queen St. near the Square, and during 1775 the Committee of Observation and Supreme Executive Council met there. It was here, too, that the lots were drawn to determine which one of the British officers, prisoners of war, should suffer death in retaliation for the killing of Capt. Huddy; the lot fell upon Capt. Sir Charles Asgill.

⁶ *Gustavus Brown Wallace*, Captain 3 Virginia, February, 1776; Major 15 Virginia, October, 1777; Lieut. Colonel, March, 1778, regiment designated 11 Virginia six months later; taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., May 14, 1780; transferred to 2 Virginia, February, 1781, and served to close of the war.

mand and is to have two Adjutants of that Brigade to assist him. On Sunday at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, all y^e Brigade Inspectors with officers and non commis^d officers, who are to mount Guard on Monday, are to attend at Head Quarters, where the Inspector Gen^l will instruct them in what is to be done the next day.

Baron Stubane [Steuben] a Lieut. Gen^l in foreign service & a gentleman of great Military experience having obligingly undertaken to exercise the office of Inspector Gen^l in this army; the Comm^d.-in-Chief till the pleasure of Congress shall be known, desires he will be Respected and obeyed as such, and hopes and expects that all Officers of whatsoever rank in it, will afford him every aid in their power in the execution of his Office.

Lieut. Col. Davis,⁷ Brussels & Barber⁸ & Mr. Tenant, are appointed Sub Inspectors, the three former maintaining their rank and station in the Line. The importance of establishing a uniform system of and useful manuevers & regularity of discipline, must be obvious; the deficiency of our Army must be to, the time we shall probably have to introduce the necessary reformation is short; without the most active exertions of Officers of every class, it will be impossible to devise the advantages proposed in this institution, which are of the greatest moment to the success of the ensuing campaigns. Arguments sure need not be multiplied to render the zeal of officers in another of such consequences to their advancement of their own honour and prosperity of our Arms.

⁷ *William Davies*, Capt. 1 Virginia Line, September, 1775; Deputy Muster Master General of the Flying Camp, October, 1776; Major 7 Virginia Line, March, 1777; Lieut. Col. commandant 14 Virginia Line, April, 1778; Colonel, March, 1778, regiment designated 10 Virginia in September; transferred to 1 Virginia, February, 1781, and served to close of the war.

⁸ *Francis Barber*, Major 3 New Jersey Line, January, 1776; Lieut. Colonel, November, 1776. Wounded at Monmouth, at Newtown, and Yorktown. Transferred to 1 New Jersey Line 1781. Accidentally killed by the falling of a tree February 11, 1783.

Brigade Orders.

Adjutant of Day from the 10th Reg^t An officer from each company in the Brigade to refit the Men's Huts and see that all the intrenching tools and Axes, Spades & Shovels wanting handles he collected and delivered to their respective Quartermasters, except such as are employed by the Camp Colormen, who is to have them carried to Gen^l Patterson's Brigade and delivered to the Gen^l.⁹ A Fatigue party of 30 men to turn out to-morrow at 8 o'clock, properly assien'd to work on the line.

JAMES CHAMBERS,¹⁰Col. Comm^{dg}.

Detail of F.

S. C. P.

1 : 0 : 6.

HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE, March 29, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . Varnum,

Field Officers . . . L^t Col. Harney,¹¹

Brigade Major Ogden.

⁹ *Gen. John Patterson's* brigade consisted of the Massachusetts Line regiments commanded by Cols. Marshall, Brewer, Bradford and Tupper.

¹⁰ *Col. Chambers* commanded the First Brigade of Wayne's Division, Penna. Line, composed of the 1, 2, 7, 10 Regiments of Infantry. He was a member of the well-known family of the name in Cumberland Co., Penna., and recruited his company there in June of 1775, which was attached to the First Penna. Rifle Battalion, Col. William Thompson. He arrived before Boston August 7th. Promoted Lieut. Col. March, 1776. From March 12–April 1 assigned to the 10 Penna. Commissioned Colonel 1 Penna.; retired from the service Jany. 1, 1781. He participated in all the principal battles of the war prior to retiring, and at Brandywine received a Hessian bullet in his side, which gave him much trouble in after years. He died at Loudon Forge, Franklin Co., Pa., April 25, 1805, aged 56 years.

¹¹ *Selby Harney*, Major 8 North Carolina Line, Nov., 1776; Lieut. Col. 2 North Carolina, Nov., 1777; taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., May 12, 1780; retired Jany. 1, 1783.

As the stormy weather prevented the Brigade Inspectors y^e meeting this day, agreeable to yesterday's orders, the Sub and Brigade Inspectors with the officers and Non Comms'd Officers who were to have assembled this day at 10 o'clock, will attend at said time & place.

The following officers are appointed Brigade Inspectors and are to be obeyed and respected as such in their several respective Brigades: Col. Tuper¹² in Gen. Patterson's Brigade; Lt. Col. Sprout,¹³ in Glovers; Major Wallace, in Woodford's; Major Cabell,¹⁴ in Weedon's; Major Hull,¹⁵ in Larned's, and Major Fish,¹⁶ in Poor's; Major Bloomfield,¹⁷ in Maxwell's; Major Hulings,¹⁸ in late Conway's; Cap^t Smith, in Varnum's; Cap^t Converse,¹⁹ in Huntington's; Cap^t Eng [?], in McIntosh's; Cap^t McGowen,²⁰ Second Penns^a; Cap^t Walker²¹ of Col. Livingston's Reg^t, is appointed Brigade Major P. F. and is to be obeyed and respected as such.

¹² *Benjamin Tupper*, Major of Fellows' Mass. regiment May, 1775; Lieut. Col. Continental Infantry, Jany., 1776; to 2 Mass. Line, Nov., 1776; Colonel 11 Mass. July, 1777; transferred to 10 Mass. Jany., 1781; transferred 6 Mass. Jany., 1783, and served to June 12, 1783. Died June, 1792.

¹³ *Ebenezer Sprout*, Captain in Cotton's Mass. regiment 1775; Major 3 Continental Infantry 1776; Lieut. Colonel 4 Mass. 1777; Lieut. Col. commandant, 12 Mass. Sept., 1778, transferred to 2 Mass. Jany., 1781. Brevet Colonel Sept. 30, 1783. Died Feby., 1805.

¹⁴ *Samuel Jordan Cabell*, Capt. 6 Virginia, March, 1776; Major 14 Virginia, Dec., 1777; regiment designated 10 Virginia, Sept. 14, 1778; Lieut. Col. 8 Virginia, Dec., 1778; transferred to 4 Va., July, 1779; transferred 7 Va., Feby., 1781. Taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C. Died Sept. 4, 1818.

¹⁵ Later Brig.-General, U. S. A., and cashiered for surrender of Detroit. Died Nov. 29, 1825.

¹⁶ *Nicholas Fish*, Captain in Malcolm's regiment; Brigade Major Scott's Brigade, Aug., 1776. Served to June, 1783. Died June 30, 1833. Ancestor Hon. Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, in cabinet President Grant.

¹⁷ *Joseph Bloomfield*, Captain 3 New Jersey, Feby., 1776; Deputy Judge Advocate General 1776-1778; Major 3 New Jersey, Resigned Oct. 29, 1778. Brig. General U. S. A., March 27, 1812; discharged June 15, 1815. Governor New Jersey 1801-1812; died Oct. 3, 1823.

Detail for Guard :

	<i>C:</i>	<i>Sub :</i>	<i>S:</i>	<i>C:</i>	<i>P.</i>
1 st Reg ^t	0	0	1	1	11
2 do	0	0	1	1	5
7 do	0	0	1	1	6
10 do	0	0	1	0	7
Total	0 :	0 :	4 :	3 :	29.

Fatigue.

	<i>Sub :</i>	<i>S:</i>	<i>C:</i>	<i>P.</i>
1 st Reg ^t	0	1	0	3
2 do	1	0	0	2
7 do	0	0	0	2
10 do	0	0	0	3
	1 :	1 :	0 :	10

Weeks Command.

	<i>C:</i>	<i>Sub :</i>	<i>S:</i>	<i>C:</i>	<i>P.</i>
1 st Reg ^t	0	0	0	1	2
2 do	0	0	0	0	1
7 do	0	0	0	0	2
10 do	0	0	0	0	1
	0	0	0	1.	6.

¹⁸ *John Hulings*, Captain 2 Penna. Battalion, Col. St. Clair, Jany., 1776; Captain 3 Penna. Line, Jany., 1777; Major Aug., 1777; became supernumerary July, 1778.

¹⁹ *Thomas Converse*, Ensign in Burrall's Connecticut State Regiment, Jany., 1776; left behind sick on retreat from Quebec, April, 1776; Lieut. and Adjutant 7 Conn. Jan., 1777; Captain Nov., 1777; transferred 2 Conn. Jany., 1781; Brigade Inspector. Retired Jany., 1783.

²⁰ *John McGowan*, Third Lieut. Rifle Battalion Penna. Col. Samuel Miles, Aug., 1776; Adjutant of Battalion; promoted Captain Oct., 1776; Brigade Inspector 2d Brigade Penna. Line; Capt. 4 Penna. Line, Oct., 1777; wounded at Germantown; transferred to Invalid Corps 1781. Died Nov., 1805.

²¹ *Benjamin Walker*, Lieut. New York Line; Major and Aide-de-Camp to Baron Steuben, 1778; Lieut. Col. and Aide-de-Camp Gen. Washington, 1782. Died Jany. 13, 1818.

Division Orders, March 29th 1778.

Discipline being the very soul of all Army's; so it ought to be the pride and study of all Officers, to introduce it into their respective Corps; in valour man to man are equal throughout the World, but it is discipline alone which gives the opportunity in the Field; and as the Gen^l hopes to rival the Britons in that, he also wishes to bear the [faded] from the other part of the Army. For which purpose he requests the Officers to the example they set the other day, and which gave the highest pleasure to his Excellency and met his warmest approbation in manouvering themselves as well as men. As there is no Greater or surer mark of discipline than Cleanliness, so there is nothing more conducive to health and spirit; it introduces a laudible pride which is substitute for almost every virtue; the Gen^l therefore, in the most pointed terms, desires the Officers to oblige their men to appear clean & decent at all times and upon all occasions: Even punishing that Soldier that appears dirty whether on duty or not.

The Officers will compel the men to wear their Hatts in one way; in the most soldier-like position, and oblige to mend their old clothes so as to make the best appearance possible; the Gen^l expects a sufficiency of Hatts with some other clothing for the men every hour; he has also ordered Co^l Bayard to Lancaster, to provide the Officers clothing and the Drums and fifes belonging to this Division.

Anthony Wayne, B. G.

March 30th 1778.

Regimental Orders.

Muster Rolls to be made out immediately by the Comm^{ds} Officers of companies (Agreeable to the former in the hands of the Adjutant) for the month of March, in order to the Reg^{ts} being mustered on the first Day of April next.

Henry Bicker, Co^l Comm^d'g.

(To be continued.)

SELECTIONS FROM THE DIARY OF CHRISTIANA
LEACH, OF KINGSESSING, 1765-1796.

CONTRIBUTED BY ROBERT H. HINCKLEY.

[The original manuscript diary of Mrs. Leach is still preserved, but unfortunately a few leaves prior to 1765 were destroyed by a descendant, who was unacquainted with the German language, in which it is written.]

1765. *Feb. 23.*—Received the first letter from my brother in England, stating that he was well received by the King and Queen and sometimes conversed with them for two hours about all kinds of curiosities.

Nov. 2nd.—Born, our son Henry at 1 o'clock, and daughter Catharine at 3 o'clock in the afternoon (twins) in the sign of the waterman.

1766. *November 3rd.*—My brother William returned from London with Captain Marshall, happy with the title of Botanist to the King and Queen, to our great joy.

November 23rd.—My brother left Philadelphia for Carolina.

1767. *April 1st.*—Myself, John and the whole family moved again to Kingessing to fathers.

January 13th.—My brother departed from Carolina for London with many barrels filled with plants.

March 20th.—Born, our son, Joseph Leech, at 12 o'clock at night, in the sign of the goat.

November 6th.—My brother arrived well and hearty from London.

November 17th.—My brother left Philadelphia for Carolina to get more plants.

1769. *March 3rd.*—My brother arrived again from Carolina after a voyage of twenty-nine days, well and hearty, with 19 boxes filled with plants and roots of great variety.

Nov. 5th.—My brother sailed with Captain Falconer for London with many casks and boxes filled with plants.

1770. *Aug. 26.*—My brother arrived from London well and hearty.

1771. *April 16th.*—All our children were vaccinated by Dr. Paschal; Billy, John, Max, Henry and Joseph got over it very well, but Betsey had a sore eye, and Katy got the inflammation in her mouth, and an abscess eat away her chin and lips, and all her teeth fell out, and while she got well, she is disfigured.

Nov. 13th.—My brother sailed again with Captain Falconer from Philadelphia for London, with a quantity of plants.

1772. *Sept. 17th.*—My father bought of Samuel Powell, 40 acres of woodland for £400, cash.

December 30th.—My brother and his wife, whom he brought from England, arrived here safe and sound to our great joy.

1776. *June 6th.*—My sister, Catharine, married Jacob Hoffman.

August 6th.—My son, William Leach, said farewell to us all, to go with Captain Rudolph's Kingsessing Militia to Amboy. God keep him safe!

August 13th.—My son, John Leech, and my brother-in-Law, Jacob Hoffman, said farewell to us all and have gone as Militia with Captain Gibson to Amboy, at 50 shillings a month. God be with them; the Lord's will be done!

September 17th.—All our dear ones came back from Camp safe and sound. God be thanked!

1777. *May 1st.*—Born, my nephew, William Hoffman, at nine o'clock in the evening.

May 15th.—My son, William Leech, went in the Militia with Captain Young, to Bristol. God be with him!

July 8th.—My son, William Leech, came back from Camp well and healthy, he was sick in Camp for six days, but is well again;—Thank God!

September 11th.—In a battle between our army and the English at the Brandywine, our army was defeated and had to retreat.

September 26th.—The English entered Philadelphia.

October 4th.—A bloody battle was fought near German-town between our army and the English; although our men fought well, they lost the field leaving their dead.

October 16th.—An English General, named Burgoyne, was captured with his whole army by our brothers at Saratoga.

October 21st.—In a battle at Red Bank, a Hessian General named Donop was killed.

November 21st.—My dear Mother, Elizabeth Young, departed this life at 4 O'clock in the afternoon, aged 66 years, and buried Sunday, the 23rd in Kingsessing, in our burial ground, in a troublesome King's time.

1778. *March 18th.*—A party of English soldiers came into our house at 10 o'clock, at night, and took my brother-in-law Hoffman and my two sons, William and John, prisoners to Philadelphia, and put them into the new prison, to our great fear. A sad and troublesome time, but God will protect us.

March 28th.—A party of rascals came to our house, sent by Galloway, and took our cattle and plundered the house, and also took father with them to the old prison. Our loss is at least £400. My sister and I have passed many anxious hours.

April 16th.—Father was released from prison on parole, to remain in town.

April 25th.—Jacob, Billy and John, came from prison home. John sick and miserable.

June 18th.—The English have gone from the city to Jersey. Father came home.

June 30th.—Battle at Monmouth, between our army and the English.

August 15th.—My son, John, apprenticed to a wagon-maker for one year and ten months. I must furnish clothes and a suit at the end of the time.

October 9th.—Born, my nephew, Jacob Hoffman, at one o'clock in the afternoon.

1780. *June 15th.*—My son, John, home from his apprenticeship, and began to work on his own account.

October 15th.—My son, Maximilian, apprenticed to a Blacksmith for four years, his Master to furnish clothes six months and a suit at the end of the apprenticeship.

1781. March 6th.—Born my niece, Betsy Hoffman, two o'clock at night. Peace is established this year between England and America. God be thankful for this peace.

1784. April 4th.—My son Henry is apprenticed in town to a Blacksmith for two years and seven months. I have to furnish clothes and a suit at the end of his apprenticeship.

October 15th.—My son, Maxy, ended his apprenticeship and remains with his Master as journeyman.

December 6th.—My son, William, departed for Carolina over-land.

1785. March 16th.—My brother, William Young, was drowned in a river called Gun Powder Falls, ninety miles from his home. He remained seven weeks three days in the water before he was found, and was buried on the bank. And this was my brother's end, he died honorably in pursuit of his botanical business, aged 43 years. God's will be done!

April 13th.—Born my niece, Katy Hoffman between eight and nine o'clock in the morning. My dear and only sister, Catharine Hoffman died in childbirth, aged forty years. She was buried on the 15th in our family burying ground, wept for and mourned by all the friends and neighbors of the family.

May 28th.—My dear and worthy father, William Young, died between three and four o'clock in the afternoon. He exchanged the earthly life for an eternal rest, aged 73 years. He became sick May 15th, but remained about and died in his clothes from apoplexy, and was buried the 30th, accompanied to his rest by many friends at Kingsessing, to the family burying ground.

August 16th.—John and Max departed for Gun Powder Falls to find my brother's grave.

September 12th.—My son John and my brother's wife departed in a carriage with a driver and three horses for Gun Powder Falls, to bring back my brother's body, which they

did on the 16th, and we buried him also in our family burying ground.

1786. June 15th.—My son John Leech has bought the place at Kingsessing, belonging formerly to my brother, for £175, to be paid for in six years, and has moved on it with his apprentice.

July 1st.—My son Joseph bound to John to learn his trade for two years and nine months. I am to furnish his clothes and suit at the end of his apprenticeship.

July 9th.—My brother's widow sailed from Philadelphia for Dublin, Ireland, with her second husband, whom she married three weeks ago, named Mathias Newton Smith, an Irishman, born in Londonderry, a sailor of the ship, Lady Hill, Captain Campbell.

July 27th.—Maxy leased a lot on John's place in Kingsessing for fifteen years, at £3 a year, and built a blacksmith shop on the Street, and worked in it for the first time on this date.

September 26th.—My son Maxy celebrated his wedding with Betsy Haest. May God guide them in wisdom and that they may walk in His ways!

October 12th.—My son, Maxy, moved with his dear wife to Kingsessing into his grandmother's room.

November 7th.—My son Henry completed his apprenticeship with Jacob Egfelt, and went on the 17th to his brother Maxy to work as journeyman at six dollars a month, including breakfast.

1787. April 2nd.—In the afternoon between 4 and 5 o'clock, was born my first grandson and Mary's first son. We gave him the name Isaac Leech. God grant that he may grow up to fear Him and walk in His ways!

1789. March 21st.—My son Joseph Leech finished his trade, and engaged with his brother John Leech as journeyman wagon-maker, at \$5.00 per month.

March 30th.—All of our children became sick with measles and by the 12th of April they were all well again. My sister's children, Maxy Leech, his wife and child also had

the measles at the same time, but are now all well again. Thank God!

1789. May 9th.—John Leech began to keep house again with Lucy as his housekeeper.

August 13th.—My daughter, Betsy Leech, celebrated her wedding with John Furlong, an Irishman. God be with them and give them wisdom and understanding, so that they may live according to His will, and that they may be saved in the life eternal!

August 20th.—Betsy, with her husband, John Furlong, moved from here to their own place in Maple Township, Chester County, accompanied to their home by all the relatives, neighbors and friends.

1790. August 28th.—Born my first grand-daughter and Maxy Leech's first daughter, between 7 and 8 o'clock in the morning, and named Christiana Leech. God grant that Christiana in name, may be Christian in deed, and become a worthy follower of Christ!

December 9th.—Born, my grandson, John Furlong, my daughter Elizabeth Furlong's first son, between seven and eight o'clock in the evening. May God give him wisdom and understanding to enable him to study the Heavenly Philosophy and that he may become a child of God!

1791. May 5th.—My son, John Leech, celebrated his wedding with Polly Blum, youngest daughter of George Blum, of Philadelphia, and on the 10th day of May, John came after his wife and was accompanied to his place in Kingessing by all his friends. Among them were all my children and my three grandchildren. God bless them with wisdom that they may live in His honor!

October 9th.—Born my grandson, John Smith. May he be protected by God the Father!

1792. August 11th.—Born, John Leech's first son, who died, having lived only 24 hours. We buried him in our family burying ground at Kingessing.

September 8th.—Born my grandson, Thomas Furlong, at 3 o'clock in the morning.

December 26th.—Born my granddaughter, Molly Leech, Maxy Leech's second daughter. I wish her a virtuous life, that she may grow up to honor God!

1793. September 9th.—My eldest son, William Leech, died at 7 o'clock in the morning, of yellow fever, at the age of 37 years and two months, after a sickness of five days. Many people in the town died of this disease.

There died in the town of Philadelphia, between the 1st of August, and November 9th, 4031 people of yellow fever or pestilential fever; it bears a great resemblance to that dreadful disease, the plague. 17,000 inhabitants moved out of the City, and at Bush Hill was the Hospital; over 300 children lost father and mother, and were placed in one house to be cared for.

November 27th.—Born, my grandson, William Leech, son of John Leech. God guide him in his troublesome pilgrimage!

1794. March 25th.—My son John Leech moved from his home in Kingessing to Elbow lane in town, to keep tavern.

April 3rd.—John Furlong sold his home in Maple for £300 cash, and bought a house and lot in town for £160 and moved into the same.

September 30th.—My son, Joseph Leech, has gone with the Blockley and Kingessing Militia under Captain Smith, to the western counties of Pennsylvania, after the whiskey rebels as they call them. God be with him!

November 29th.—Joseph Leech has returned home from the Western counties well and hearty.

1795. January 18th.—Born my granddaughter, Deborah Leech, Maxy Leech's third daughter. May God be her guide and lead her into his ways!

1796. March 24th.—My son, John Leech moved away from town back to his home.

May 10th.—My son John Leech moved again into town on Market Street to keep a tavern at the sign of the Black Horse, at a rent of £300 a year.

ISAAC WILSON, HEAD-MASTER.

BY CHARLES H. BROWNING.

It may not be generally known, but the University of Pennsylvania, indirectly, was the pioneer of "higher education" west of the Alleghenys, as may be seen from the following items concerning one of her sons, Isaac Wilson, who matriculated at the Philadelphia College in 1768, and graduated in 1771.

Twelve years before the "Dark and Bloody Ground" became the State of Kentucky (in 1792), the settlers at Lexington petitioned the Virginia Legislature, in 1780, for a charter for an "advanced school" in their town. They had only a primary, "three R," school at that time at Fort Lexington, the teacher being a Pennsylvania man, John McKinney, who, by the way, was the original "John Gray" of Allen's "The Choir Invisible," and the hero of the alleged encounter with the wildcat in the school room. The petition was granted, and the school, endowed by Virginia, was incorporated, in 1783, as the Transylvania Seminary, but was not formally opened, in a double log cabin, until 1788.

"The first teachers of the town (Lexington) took early opportunity to lay off and reserve ground for a Latin and English school, and this encouragement brought to Lexington, in 1786, Mr. Isaac Wilson, of the Philadelphia College, who established the Lexington Grammar School. He informed the citizens, in his advertisement, in the *Lexington Gazette*, that 'Latin, Greek, and difficult branches of science, will be carefully taught.' 'Price of tuition four pounds, payable in cash, or produce, and boarding on as reasonable terms as any in the district.'"¹

¹ Ranck's History of Lexington, p. 40. Also see Filson Pub. No. 11, p. 37.

"In 1787, [1786] Isaac Wilson from Philadelphia, established the Lexington Grammar School."²

"In 1788, Transylvania Seminary was opened in Lexington, and from this day forward schools accumulated, gaining for the city an enviable fame throughout the country. M^r Wilson's Grammar School was merged, in 1789, into the Transylvania Seminary * * * * The scope of the grammar school of the Transylvania Seminary was enlarged on 6th June, 1789, with Isaac Wilson as Master, at a salary of one hundred pounds sterling per annum, settled upon at this date."³

1786. It seems that a M^r Michael was the first appointed "Grammar Master" of the Seminary, but only temporarily.

1788, Oct. 15. He was succeeded by M^r Elias Jones.

1789, April 15. M^r Isaac Wilson was appointed "Grammar Master," in place of M^r Jones, removed, and taught for two years, or till

1791, Oct. 12, when a M^r Moore succeeded him, who lasted till

1794, when he was succeeded by a M^r Toolmin.

"When the Transylvania Seminary opened, it had a M^r Michael as 'Grammar Master.' But he did not attract students, and was replaced by a M^r Elias Jones, and he was no more attractive, and the trustees saw it was a mistake to compete with M^r Wilson's Lexington Grammar School, which was flourishing. Therefore, on the 15th of April, 1789, M^r Isaac Wilson was appointed 'Grammar Master,' the second who was honored with that position, after the departure of M^r Michael, in 1786. M^r Wilson had come to Lexington from Philadelphia in 178—, and had already established there what he called the 'Lexington Grammar School.' The gentlemen who had in their keeping the welfare of the Seminary, must have perceived it was a mistake by employing M^r Elias Jones, in 1788, to

² Collins' History of Kentucky, p. 183.

³ History of Fayette County (Ky.), p. 291.

place it in rivalry with Mr Wilson and his enterprise, it was therefore resolved to employ Mr Wilson's services, and in that way unite the two schools of learning. They paid him £100 a year. [He was the only instructor who was paid a salary.] He was a man of consequence in his calling, and is believed to have been at a later period one of the teachers of the Rev. R. J. Breckenridge, D.D. Affairs fell out favorably during the second session of the Seminary at Lexington. Finances were moderately easy, and the favor of the public bestowed."

It was during Prof. Isaac Wilson's mastership of the Seminary, at the close of his first session, that the novel commencement exercises took place, which are thus described in the *Kentucky Gazette*, 26th April, 1790 :

"Friday [Saturday?] the 10th inst., was appointed for the examination of the students of Transylvania Seminary by the Trustees in the presence of "a very reputable audience. Several eloquent speeches were delivered by the boys, and, in the evening, a tragedy was acted, and the whole concluded with a farce. The several masterly strokes of eloquence throughout the performance obtained general applause. The good order and decorum observed throughout the whole, together with the rapid progress of the school in literature, reflects great honor on the President." ⁴

In the same year, 1789, that this Philadelphia school boy took charge of the Seminary, another Philadelphian, John Bradford, assisted in opening Lexington's first public library, with about 400 books, which he brought from Philadelphia, by the Wilderness Road. He had been here several years, and established the first job printing office, the first bookstore, and the first newspaper, the *Kentucky Gazette*, west of the Alleghenies, in Lexington, Kentucky.

"At the close of the [next] session, it was unhappily discovered that Mr Wilson had no scholars,"—in the Grammar Department of the Seminary. "This is attributed to

⁴ Life of Judge Caleb Wallace, Filson Pub. No. 4.

Indian incursions into Kentucky which kept the pupils at home.”⁵ This might have been true of the year before, when 1500 persons were either killed or carried off by Indians, 20,000 horses stolen and £15,000 in property destroyed in Kentucky, here and nearby; but peace with the Indians was fairly well assured in 1790-1.

However, Mr Bradford records in the *Gazette*, 12 April, 1791, that “the number of students in the grammar school, had in the course of the year, been reduced from thirteen to five. Mr Wilson was therefore dismissed,” and “on the 12th of the succeeding October [1791], the Rev. James Moore was appointed the Grammar Master.”

Mr Wilson apparently did not take this as a reflection on his management, as his name continues for several years as one of the trustees of the Seminary.

In Oct., 1790, “a committee was appointed to examine into the state of the Grammar School now taught by Mr Isaac Wilson.” Reported: “Under the charge of Mr Wilson, the young college appears to have been somewhat resuscitated.”⁶

It is possible that Mr Wilson was not in accord with the religious belief of the majority of the Board of Trustees, and for this reason he was superseded as Headmaster, for it was not long before the Board became publicly divided on doctrinal matters. In 1794, “while Isaac Wilson was a member of the Board of the Trustees of the Seminary, at a meeting the vote was taken to put Mr Toolmin in place of Mr Moore, as Headmaster, when Mr Wilson was one of the nine members voting against seven, whereupon, the Presbyterians, greatly dissatisfied, withdrew from the Seminary Board, and at once began the organization of an opposition concern, called the Kentucky Academy.”⁷

This is the last “documentary evidence” I have found concerning this Philadelphian, and the Fayette Co. (Ky.)

⁵ Life of Judge Caleb Wallace, Filson Pub. No. 4.

⁶ Filson Publication No. 11, p. 41.

⁷ Filson Pub. No. 4, p. 125.

records, prior to 1812, were accidentally destroyed by fire and I have been unable to follow his career further.

In aid of the new Kentucky Academy⁸ a subscription was taken in the East, and on 2 June, 1795, the following were among the contributors:—

George Washington, president, \$100.

John Adams, vice-president, \$100.

James Wilson, Judge, &c. \$300.

As Judge Wilson was the largest subscriber in Philadelphia, it may be, presuming that Isaac Wilson became interested in the Kentucky Academy, and that the Judge was moved to this, either by kinship to Isaac, or because Isaac was educated at the College of Philadelphia, where Judge Wilson had been a tutor and lecturer.

Nor have I been able to identify this Isaac Wilson on the pedigrees of several more or less prominent Wilson families in and about Philadelphia, in Bucks and Chester Counties, wherein there are several Isaac Wilsons. Nor does it appear on the extant records of the University of Pennsylvania who his father was, and it is not known if he married, or had issue. Nor is it known to me where he was, or how employed after he left the Philadelphia college in 1771, till he came to Lexington, about 1785-6. It may be he was originally attracted to Lexington⁹ as a place to make a living by the fact that the chief man of the town was another Pennsylvanian, Robert Patterson, who settled there in 1775, and owned nearly all the land upon which the city has grown, and was the founder, it is claimed, of the city of Cincinnati.⁹

Mr Patterson, like Mr Wilson, also had an unpleasant experience with "religion" in Lexington. He was the first promoter, or founder of the first church (Presbyterian) in Lexington, 1784, and induced a minister to come from

⁸ Joanna Peter's *His. Transylvania University*, Filson Pub. No. 11, p. 62.

⁹ See "Our Forefathers," by John H. Patterson.

Virginia. But the reverend gentleman and the trustees, (Mr Patterson at their head), soon quarrelled. He wanted only David's Psalms sung by the congregation, and Patterson insisted on Watt's Hymns, so the minister departed, and the little congregation was long without a pastor.

Major Bluford Wilson, Springfield, Ill., and Maj. Gen' James H. Wilson, U. S. Army, taking interest in this Isaac Wilson, send me the following items which may, or may not, have concerned the founder of the first Latin school west of the mountains.

Isaac Wilson, sergeant in Capt. Augustine Tabb's company, in 2^d V^a Reg. Col. W^m Brent, enlisted for three years. He was on the pay rolls March–Nov. 1779.

From Land Office Records, Richmond :—1783, June 24. (Council Chamber, Doc. No. 2287), "I do certify that Isaac Wilson is entitled to the proportion of Land allowed a Sergeant of the V^a Line for three years' service.

Tho. Merriwether."

Frankfort (Ky.) Land office records:—Virginia Grants Book, No. 13, fo. 216. "Patentee :—Isaac Wilson, 416 acres. Surveyed to him 24 March, 1785, in Lincoln Co. (Ky.) on Rockcastle River. Patent dated 18 Sep. 1787."

In same, Book Virginia Grants, No. 13, fo. 226 :—"Patentee : Isaac Wilson, 300 acres in Lincoln Co. (Ky.), on the Rockcastle. Surveyed 29 March, 1785. Patent dated 18 Sep. 1787."

Virginia Land office, Military Land Warrant:—"To lay off in the Military Land, Kentucky county, for Isaac Wilson, 200 acres, in consideration of his three years service as a Sergeant in the Virginia State Line. Dated 26 Jan. 1784."

Frankfort (Ky.) Land office:—"Above Warrant for 200 acres, Ky. Co. was satisfied in a grant to William Reynolds for 1,000 acres, to whom Isaac sold & assigned his Warrant."

It is possible that these Land grants were to one of the Isaac Wilsons of Culpeper Co., Virginia, as there were several of this name in Virginia at these dates.

TOMBSTONE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE BAPTIST GRAVE-
YARD AT CAPE MAY COURT HOUSE, N. J.

COPIED BY MRS. EMMA G. ADAMS.

Abrams, Abigail, wife of Joseph S. Abrams. Died Nov. 13, 1897, aged 49 years.

Imogenie, daughter of J. S. and A. Abrams, died Nov. 8, 1888, aged 10 years.

Allen, Nellie L., daughter of James R. & M. E. Allen. Died Jan. 23, 1897, aged 3 years.

Alrich, Eliza Lockard, daughter of L. L. & E. B. Alrich, Born Sep. 4, 1871, Died Apr. 11, 1876.

Anderson, Harry, son of J. L. & A. E. Anderson. Died Oct. 7, 1903, Aged 3 mo's & 10 days.

Anold, Infant son of Mame Anold, aged 4 mo's.

Bateman, Darius, Died Aug. 30, 1900, aged 72 years.

Beatty, Hannah P. wife of James Beatty, Died Feb 12, 1858, aged 50 years.

Beesley, Thomas, Died Oct. 16, 1877, in the 63rd year of his age.

Catharine Ann, wife of Thomas Beesley, died July 28, 1890, in the 70th year of her age.

Ashmead, only child of Thos. & Catharine A. Beesley, Died in the 16th year of his age.

Benezet, A. J. ("Our Babe").

Benezett, Alonzo S., son of Daniel & Jemima Benezett, died Feb. 1, 1844, aged 2 years, 4 months and 12 days.

Benezet, Anthony, died Nov. 20, 1882, aged 70 y'rs, 8 mo's & 2 days. Caroline H., born Nov. 15, 1833, died July 4, 1896.

Julia A., Died March 20, 1886, aged 71 years, 7 months & 12 days.

Julia R., born Nov. 2, 1850, died April 11, 1901.

Mary H. born July 5, 1844, died Sept. 8, 1903.

Samuel, born Jan. 13, 1824, died July 17, 1901.

Bennett, Aaron, born Feb. 5, 1800, died July 31, 1870.

Mary, wife of Aaron Bennett, born May 16, 1807, died Aug. 1, 1870.

Aaron, son of Aaron & Mary Bennett, died Aug 10, 1845, in the 17th year of his age.

Cornelius, died Feb. 14, 1895, aged 73 years.

Eliza, died Apr 22, 1900, aged 78 y'rs.

Danniela, daughter of Cornelius & Eliza Bennett, born Nov. 17, 1850, died May 9, 1885.

John E., son of Cornelius & Eliza Bennett, died Sept 4, 1864, aged 9 years, 11 mo's. and 14 days.

Hannah, wife of Cornelius Bennett, died Feb. 24, 1829, aged 28 years.

Joshua, died Oct 29, 1879, aged 86 years, & 2 mo's.

Emily, wife of Joshua Bennett, died March 9, 1834, aged 35 years, 1 mo. and 26 days.

Mary, wife of Joshua Bennett Sr., born July 5, 1815, died Feb. 23, 1886.

Walter, son of Joshua & Mary Bennett, died Nov 13, 1864, aged 11 years, 7 mo's & 10 days.

Emma A., wife of Stephen Bennett, born April 21, 1839, died April 18, 1888.

Brehm, Mary P. 1854-1903 (Sister to Elizabeth Robinson 1844-1875).

Buck, Margaret, died Aug. 6, 1877, in her 71st year.

Mary, wife of Samuel J. Buck, died Nov. 2, 1851, aged 26.

Mary, daughter of Samuel J. & Mary Buck, died Dec. 24, 1851, aged 11 mo's.

Sarah H., wife of Crawford Buck, died Jan 31, 1877, aged 79 years.

Burke, Harry L., infant son of Parker B. & Rachel R. Burke, born Mar 21, 1885, died July 20, 1885.

Camp, Wesley, son of L. V. & V. Camp, born Sept 5, 1893, died Aug 27, 1894.

Carey, Charles R., died Feb. 18, 1899, aged 72 years.

Carpenter, Richard L. born Aug 4, 1851, died Feb. 15, 1904.

Hannah R., wife of Richard L. Carpenter, born April 21, 1851, died June 18, 1903.

Infant dau. of Richard & Hannah Carpenter, died Dec 1875.

Champion, Joseph, son of Joseph and Phebe Champion, died Apr. 29, 1864, aged 15 months.

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Walter, son of Joseph and Phoebe Champion, died July 11, 1865,
aged 8 months.

Percy, infant son of Charles L. & Lizzie Champion, died Mar. 30,
1891, aged 3 months.

Chance, Leven, died Aug 18, 1873, in the 76th y'r of his age.

Cochran, John E., Late 1st Serg't. Co D. 72nd Penna. Vols. died Nov.
21, 1904, aged 67 years.

William H., late of Co I, 61 Reg. Penna. Vols., died Oct 20, 1897,
aged 52 y'rs.

Conover, Jemima L., wife of Benjamin Conover, died March 20, 1872,
in her 57th year.

David, aged 4 months ("Our Son").

Johnnie ("Our Son") aged seven years.

Cooper, Joseph Fifield, son of Ralph V. M. & Louisa F. Cooper, born
Dec 15, 1840, died July 11, 1842.

Corson, Amy, died Sept. 21, 1901, in her 95th year.

Charles W., born July 29, 1823, died Feb. 5, 1898.

Levi, born April 7, 1797, died Oct. 14, 1873.

Levi, died Sept. 17, 1859, in his 84th y'r.

Martha, wife of Levi Corson, died Dec. 5, 1860, in her 80th y'r.

Lizzie, wife of Alonzo Corson, died May 2, 1883, aged 34 years,
7 mo. & 18 days.

MacBride, died May 11, 1871, aged 79 yrs.

Madeline, died on Easter Sunday 1896, aged 76 years.

Miles, son of Capt. Stilwell and Elizabeth Corson, born Mar. 17,
1843, died Oct. 18, 1887.

Smith, born Apr. 25, 1822, died Jan. 3, 1897.

Rhoda, wife of Smith Corson, born Oct. 25, 1824, died Feb 12,
1882.

Alvin, died Apr. 27, 1874, aged 11 mo. 9 ds. ("Smith Corson"
on rail around plot.)

Mary L., dau. of Smith & Rhoda A. Corson.

Angeline, dau. of Smith & Rhoda A. Corson.

Sarah Somers, dau. of Constant and Sophia Somers, and widow of
William Leaming and of Nicholas Corson. Born Oct. 11,
1795, died July 28, 1866.

Courtney, Elizabeth, died Jan. 23, 1855, in the 91st year of her age.

Craig, Dorathey, wife of Josiah F. Craig. Died Oct 22, 1861, in her
43rd year.

Josiah F. died Dec 29, 1881, in the 64th year of his age.

Harriet, dau. of Josiah & Dorothea Craig, died July 28, 1860, aged 3 mos.

Isaac M., son of Josiah & Dorothea Craig, born Jan 27, 1857, died Nov 10, 1858.

Crawford, Charles, died Sept. 9, 1866, in his 45th year.

Deborah, wife of Charles Crawford, died Oct. 24, 1873, in her 48th year.

Lottie, wife of Fred. F. Crawford, born Sept. 30, 1855, died Dec. 14, 1884.

Roland, son of Fred. F. and Lottie Crawford, born Dec. 16, 1882, died Dec. 14, 1884.

Sarah, died March 10, 1843, aged 81 years. (Monument erected by her son Joshua Crawford.)

Joshua, died Jan. 12, 1859, in his 75th year.

Sina, wife of Joshua Crawford, died Feb. 25, 1834, aged 68 years.

Priscilla, dau. of Joshua & Mary Crawford, died Feb. 28, 1857, aged 19 years, 8 months, & 17 days.

Cressee, Alena, born Oct. 24, 1859, died January 7, 1897.

Cresse, Daniel, Sen., died Apr. 12, 1859, in his 75th year.

Hannah, widow of John Holmes and of Daniel Cresse. Born Apr. 2, 1782, died Aug. 6, 1871.

Huldiah, wife of Daniel Cresse, Jr., died March 12, 1826.

"Our Babe," dau. of G. & H. Cresse.

Israel, died Jan. 22, 1836, aged 55 yrs. 11 mos. & 21 days.

Sarah Sloan, wife of Israel Cresse, died Nov. 12, 1871, aged 53 yrs. 7 mos. & 6 days.

Humphrey S., born May 27, 1828, died Apr. 22, 1892.

Jeremiah H., who was accidentally killed Oct. 15, 1858, in the 58th year of his age.

John, died Aug. 3, 1878, in his 72nd year.

Adaline, wife of John Cresse, died January 2nd, 1884, in her 75th year.

Maggie, wife of Daniel B. Cresse, born Feb. 13, 1842, died Sept. 10, 1877.

Horrice, son of Daniel B. and Maggie Cresse, born and died Aug. 30, 1868.

Rachel, died Mar. 5, 1829, aged 73 years, and 27 days.

Philip H., died Dec 18, 1879, in his 64th year. (Our Brother.)

Rhoda, died Apr. 23, 1840, in her 22nd year. (Our Sister.)

Richard, died Feb. 11, 1864, aged 59 years, 4 months, & 19 days.

Abigail, died Jan. 28, 1890, aged 85 years, 10 mos. & 22 days.

Sophia, aged 4 years, 5 months & 15 days.

Crick, John, 1840-1900.

Crowell, Cornelia F., born Nov 29, 1819, died Dec 6, 1874.

James, died Mar. 21, 1876, in his 65th year.

James, son of J. & L. Crowell, died July 1, 1898, aged 47 years.

Mary F., dau. of J. & L. Crowell, died May 21, 1872, aged 25 years.

Joshua, died Jan. 29, 1842, in his 51st year.

Mary, wife of Joshua Crowell, and daugh. of Humphrey & Mary Hewitt, born Apr. 13, 1807, died Jan. 27, 1856.

Eliza, dau. of Joshua & Mary Crowell, died Jan. 17, 1837, in her 8th year.

Hetty H., dau. of Joshua & Mary Crowell, died July 8, 1842, aged 13 mos. 17 ds.

Curran, Isaac, died July 29, 1884, aged 86 years.

Matthew, died Aug. 20, 1885, aged 68 years.

Davis, Sarah, wife of Virgil M. Davis, Esq., and formerly widow of James R. Leaming. Born April 14, 1793, died December 11, 1860.

Denges, Emma, daughter of P. & H. Denges. Born Sept. 12, 1873, died Mar 8, 1880.

Dickinson, Dr. John, died Sept. 16, 1834, aged 75 years, 11 months & 5 days.

Mary, wife of Dr. John Dickinson, died Sept 29, 1839, aged 77 years & 14 days.

Sarah, died January 21, 1866, aged 82 years, 9 months & 12 days.

Susan, died May 20, 1874, aged 80 years, 4 months & 8 days.

Douglass, Abigail, wife of Alexander Douglass, Jr. Born Nov 4, 1872, died Jan 2, 1904.

Amos, Born Jan. 31, 1817, died Mar. 17, 1899.

Elizabeth M., wife of Amos Douglass, born Oct 27, 1815, died Jan. 8, 1891.

Achsah, H., daughter of J. & M. W. Douglass. Died July 31, 1874, aged 6 ms. & 22 ds.

Gideon H., son of Joseph & Mary W. Douglass, died Jan. 19, 1892, in his 22nd year.

John, died May 13, 1839, aged 57 years and 3 days.

Rachel, wife of John Douglass, born Sept 3, 1793, died June 24, 1865.

Charles, son of John & Rachel Douglass, born Nov. 27, 1826, died Mar. 20, 1828.

Kezia, daughter of John & Rachel Douglass, born Feb 10, 1835, died May 20, 1837.

Rachel, daughter of John & Rachel Douglass, born June 30, 1812,
died Feb 13, 1822.

Kezia, died May 23, 1826, aged 65 years, 8 months & 14 days.

Son of John and Cornelia Douglass, died Mar. 28, 1849.

Son of John and Cornelia Douglass, died Feb. 2, 1851.

John Y., son of John and Cornelia Douglass, died Sept 11, 1853,
aged 17 months & 2 days.

Elizabeth, daughter of John & Cornelia Douglass, died Jan. 2, 1863,
aged 5 weeks, 2 days.

Justina E., daughter of A. & M. M Douglass, died Jan. 25, 1876,
aged 18 yrs. 3 mos. 18 ds.

Luther M, died Jan 26, 1899, aged 27 years.

Mara A., wife of Sam'l E. Douglass. Born May 7, 1842, died
Oct. 18, 1886.

Marion S. Born June 1, 1865, died June 5, 1904.

Shamgar H., died Dec 23, 1861, aged 37 yrs 6 ms 14 ds.

Infant son of Shamgar & Clarissa Douglass, died May 23, 1851.

Elizabeth, died Mar. 28, 1896, in the 75th year of her age (Mother).

Thomas, died June 5, 1892, in the 78th year of his age (Father).

Joseph I., son of Thomas & Elizabeth Douglass, died Aug. 22, 1857,
aged 10 mos.

William, died Nov. 8, 1861, aged 44 years.

William died Mar 9, 1869, in the 86th year of his age.

William, died Oct 1, 1824, aged 40 yrs 3 mos. & 28 days.

Marcy, daughter of William & Mary Douglass, died Jan 15th,
1837, in the 27th year of her age.

Achsah, wife of William Douglass, died Nov. 6, 1873, in the 74th
year of her age.

Dunn, Orilla H. Creese, wife of Gilmore Dunn, Born Sept 4, 1863,
died Oct 29, 1890.

Edwards, Enoch, died Jan. 2, 1892, aged 77 years.

Hannah, died Aug. 22, 1897, aged 82 years.

Egolf, Carrie C., daughter of Wm. H. & M. C. Egolf, born Nov. 30,
1893, died Sept 17, 1897.

Eldridge, James, died Oct. 17, 1887, in the 74th year of his age.

Lydia, wife of James Eldridge, died May 22, 1885, in the
73rd year of her age.

Eldredge, Jason, son of Jacob N. & Harriet Eldredge, died Oct 4, 1863,
aged 6 years, 7 mos. & 15 days.

Melissa, daughter of Jacob N. & Harriet Eldredge, died Oct. 18,
1863, aged 5 years, 1 mo. & 26 days.

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Samuel, son of Jacob N. & Harriet Eldredge, died Oct. 11, 1863,
aged 2 years, 3 mos. & 20 days.

Eldridge, Julia, wife of Ezekiel Eldridge, died Apr 1, 1904, aged 56
years.

Eldredge, Nathaniel, died Jan 5, 1850, aged 63 yrs, 1 mo. 29 days.

Rachel, wife of Nathaniel Eldredge, died Jan 23, 1855, aged
74 years, 10 mos, & 5 days.

Eldridge, William, son of Nathaniel and Rachel Eldridge. Born Sept
18, 1820, died Aug 28, 1877.

Eldredge, Samuel, died Feb. 11, 1860, aged 64 years, 1 month & 1 day.

Roxanna, wife of Samuel Eldredge, died Jan 26, 1888, aged
89 years, 2 mos. & 22 ds.

Ellison, Mary, died Oct 23, 1889 aged 74 years.

Endsor, Maggie, wife of Capt Henry Endsor, died Nov 5, 1875, in the
45th year of her age.

Erricson, William, died May 24, 1897, in the 84th year of his age.

Fannie, died Nov. 19, 1896, in the 18th year of her age.

Barkley, died Aug 12, 1875, aged 8 months.

Ruth, died July 31, 1875, in the 4th year of her age.

Julia, aged 7 mos.

Peters, born Feb 14, 1818, died Nov. 30, 1901

Nathaniel N, son of P. & E. N. Erricson, born Nov 21, 1858, died
Nov 19, 1885.

Eliza Newton, wife of Peters Erricson, born Dec 12, 1820, died
Apr. 6, 1901.

James, born July 5, 1825, died Feb. 23, 1902.

John K. Lost at sea Feb 26, 1885.

Kate S., born Mar. 1, 1833, died Feb 14, 1879.

Errickson, Alwilda C., born Feb. 20, 1872, died Dec 3, 1890.

Murtie M., born May 11, 1868, died Jan. 11, 1890.

F——— Stone marked A. F.

Foster, Mary E., wife of Edmund Foster, died May 2, 1883, aged 43
years.

Edmund, died Jan. 25, 1900, aged 62 years.

Lillian W., wife of George P. Foster, born Sept 7, 1858, died Aug
2, 1901.

Hannah, wife of William H. Foster, born Oct. 19, 1832, died Nov
23, 1905.

Henry, died May 20, 1853, aged 46 yrs, 10 ms & 18 ds.

Rebecca Y., wife of H. Foster, died Apr 5, 1875, aged 68 yrs.
2 ms.

John M., son of H. & R. Y. Foster, died Nov 28, 1864, aged 17
yrs, 9 ms.

Charles H. son of H. & R. Y. Foster, died May 20, 1853, aged
9 yrs, 15 ds.

Lavy, died July 31, 1831, in the 50th year of his age.

Elizabeth, wife of Lavy Foster, died Feb. 29, 1832, in the 48th
year of her age.

Matthias, born May 5, 1809, died July 8, 1887.

Charlotte, wife of Matthias Foster, died Mar. 17, 1880, in the 69th
year of her age.

Matthias, son of Matthias & Charlotte Foster, died Sept 29, 1872,
in the 22nd year of his age.

Edward G. son of Matthias & Charlotte Foster, died Nov 24, 1844,
in the 5th year of his age.

Samuel, died June 19, 1814, aged 61 years, 11 months & 26 days.

Mary, died May 4th, 1814, in the 76th year of her age.

Fritzinger, Henry, born Mar 27, 1779, died Feb 22, 1863, in the 84th
year of his age.

Gandy, Tabitha, wife of Samuel G. Gandy, died June 24, 1902, aged
66 yrs, & 4 mos.

Emma, daughter of Samuel G. & Tabitha Gandy, died Feb. 28
1870 aged 2 weeks & 3 days.

Thomas, died Mar 4, 1814, in the 78th year of his age.

Dorcas, wife of Thomas Gandy, formerly wife of Jonathan Hildreth,
died Nov 27, 1809, in the 63rd year of her age.

Garrison, Harry D., 1903-1905.

Garretson, Edna, Daughter of Chas. & Phebe Garretson, died May 29,
1896, aged 13 yrs, 4 mos.

Elbert, son of Chas. & Phebe Garretson, died July 21, 1876, aged
10 mos, 21 ds.

Nelson, died Jan 21, 1897, aged 85 yrs.

Eliza L., daughter of Nelson & Eliza Garretson, died Mar 21,
1864, aged 10 yrs.

Garrison, Ann Bell, accidentally drowned Aug 11, 1871, in the 16th
year of her age.

364 *Tombstone Inscriptions, Cape May C. H., N. J.*

Gentry, William L, son of John Gentry of Richmond, Va. born Sept 12, 1812, died Nov 14, 1852.

Giele, Peter, Late of the Pennsylvania Cavalry.

Godfrey, George, died Feb. 15th, 1895, aged 60 yrs. 6 mos, 10 ds.

Jane, wife of Rob't. S. Godfrey, died July 26, 1861, aged 24 yrs
1 mo. & 16 days.

Grace, George W., Late of U. S. Navy "Ship Spirea." Died May 9, 1900, in his 58th year.

Louisa C. & Annie E, daughters of Capt. Jesse H. & Priscilla H Grace, born and died June 26, 1876.

Shepherd Hudson, son of Capt. Jesse H. & Priscilla H. Grace, died Aug 25, 1872, aged 5 mo. & 12 days.

Sarah, wife of Thomas Grace, born Dec 26, 1796, died May 18, 1873.

Guyn, Elizabeth H. wife of E. C. Guyn, born Sept 3, 1837, died June 17, 1877.

Hackney, Alfred H. born June 13, 1889, died June 13, 1902.

Haines, Sarah, daughter of John & Phebe S. Haines, died Apr 16, 1856, aged 46 years.

Hall, Elmira H., wife of Joseph Hall, Jr. & daughter of Franklin & Danielia W. Hand, died Feb. 20, 1887, in the 41st year of her age.
Rebecca M., wife of Albion T. Hall, and daughter of Aaron & Anna M. Hand, died Aug. 1863, aged 18 years.

Albion, son of Rebecca M. and Albion T. Hall, died Sept. 29, 1863, aged 2 months.

Charles, son of Albion T. & Rachel F. Hall, born Apr. 21, 1886, died Dec. 6, 1886.

Harry, son of Albion T & Rachel F. Hall, born June 1, 1877, died July 27, 1879.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

A FRENCHMAN'S COMMENTS ON THE DISCIPLINE OF THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH ARMIES IN 1777. Extract from the *New Jersey Gazette*, and contributed by Francis B. Lee, Esq., Trenton, N. J.

READING, STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, Nov. 28, 1777.

My Dear Count,

General Howe has at last gained possession of the city of Philadelphia, but not without being obliged to fight two battles for it. The forts on the Delaware were gallantly defended. Count de Donop, so well known for his exploits in the late war, fell in an unsuccessful attack upon Fort Mercer—a small unfinished work, on the East side of the Delaware. Fort Mifflin, on Mud-Island, stood a furious attack from bombs and artillery, for upwards of a month. After every gun on it was dismounted, and the works torn and burnt in such a manner, that no covering was to be had for the men, it was evacuated with a degree of conduct that equalled the bravery with which it had been defended. General Howe, it is true, forced his way into the city of Philadelphia, but the city owns his brother, Lord Howe, as its conqueror; for it could not have been taken without the assistance of the navy of Britain. Had his Lordship failed of opening the navigation up to the city, the General must have decamped, or fallen into the hands of General Washington. I have taken some pains to make myself acquainted with the character of General Howe, and to know upon what springs his good fortune has turned in the course of the last campaign. I am told that he is a brave soldier, and an exact officer; but that he possesses none of the talents of a great general. His education was slender, and his understanding is a moderate one; but he has had prudence enough to supply his deficiencies in both, by calling into the cabinet Sir William Erskine, a Brigadier General and Quartermaster of his army. This gentleman has passed through the regular stages of a military education, and served with great reputation in the last war in Germany, under Prince Ferdinand. He is indefatigable in business—quick in expedients—bold in his enterprizes—decisive in council—and intrepid in action. He is not only a favorite of General Howe's, but is equally dear to all the officers in his army. They say of him, that he is "An angel in the cabinet, and a lion in the field."

The Troops in General Howe's army being composed of English, Scotch, Irish, and German corps, full of a spirit of emulation, and this may be given as another reason for their successes over the Americans. The Americans, it is true, are of different States, but common danger has united them so closely, that the principle of emulation acts as yet but feebly upon them. Perhaps the custom of blending troops from different States into one command, which I observe in some instances in the American army, has contributed to prevent the growth and operation of this principle among them.

The superior discipline of Howe's army has had a large share in crowning it with success. By discipline I do not mean a superior

knowledge in the use of arms, but a superior sense of order and subordination among both officers and soldiers. Their whole army, I have been told, is a compact piece of machinery, put in motion only by the breath of the Commander in Chief. I am at a loss to account for the want of an equal degree of order and subordination in the American army. It has been ascribed to an excess of that spirit of liberty, which animates both officers and soldiers; but I am far from entertaining an opinion so degrading to the sacred cause of America. I think I have discovered a degree of docility and tractableness in the Americans, which I never before saw in any other people. If the cause which has been assigned, was a just one, it would be more uniform in its effects; but history tells us of FREEMEN who deposed tyrants, and vanquished whole armies of veteran mercenaries, by nothing else but the perfection of their discipline.

But the principal advantage of General Howe's army over General Washington's, in the two battles fought by them, must be ascribed to their being more trained to the use of the bayonet. The American army know their superior dexterity in firing well, and rely entirely upon it: The British army know it likewise, and dread it. Hence in all engagements the British soldiers rush on with the bayonet after one fire, and seldom fail of throwing the Americans into confusion. Habit, which forms men to any thing, I am persuaded would soon render these brave people as firm at the approaches of a bayonet, as the whistling of a musket-ball. General Lee, I have been told, took great pains to eradicate the universal prejudice he found among the Americans, in favour of terminating the war with fire arms alone: "We must learn to face our enemies," said he, "man to man in the open field, or we never shall beat them." The late General Montgomery, who served his apprenticeship to the art of war in the British army, knew so well that nothing but the bayonet would ever rout troops that had been trained to the use of it, that he once proposed in the Convention of New York, of which he was a member, that directions should be given, both in Europe and in this country, to make all muskets intended for the American soldiers two inches longer than the muskets now in use in the British army, in order that they might have an advantage of their enemy, in a charge with bayonets; for, said he, "Britain will never yield but to the push of the bayonet." It gave me great pleasure to hear an old saying among the French officers, that "Englishmen have no stomach for the bayonet," confirmed by a Colonel of a regiment in the American army. He told me that in the battle of Germantown, he charged a large body of the enemy with his single regiment, and drove them above a mile without firing a single gun. He would have driven them into Philadelphia, or cut them to pieces, had he not been unfortunately ordered to retreat, after the fate of the day turned in favour of General Howe's army.

The same predilection to the use of fire arms which I have mentioned among the American soldiers has given General Howe several advantages over them with artillery. The Americans it is true have an excellent train in their army, and some able artillery officers—but unfortunately it is so feebly supported by the musketry, that in one of their battles eleven pieces fell into the hands of the enemy. The English you know were no match for the French troops till our nation taught them the arts of managing artillery. The King of Prussia I have been told relies chiefly upon field-pieces, and has prophesied that in the next century all wars will be terminated by them.

I have conversed with some individuals who ascribe Howe's good fortune to the greater spirit of his soldiers, and to the superior talents of his officers. But this is far from being true. On the contrary I believe there are not finer materials for an irresistible army in the whole world than the troops now under the command of General Washington. Howe's soldiers are actuated by nothing but rage—and a lust for plunder. Washington's are actuated only by courage and a superlative love of their country. They have been defeated it is true, but they have never been conquered. I have been often astonished not only at their patience, but at their cheerfulness under cold, fatigue—and all the common hardships of a soldiers life. Had Howe's army suffered only half as much as these brave fellows have done, I am sure, from the common character of European armies, their spirits would have been broken long ago, and Howe would have been left before this time with scarcely a regiment to cover his flight from this country. Nor do I think the balance is in favour of General Howe's officers. You and I know of what stuff many of them are made. Two scholars to a regiment is a rare sight in the British army. How many of them have we seen travelling with their interpreters, or, as they are called in England, Bearleaders, through France, distinguishing themselves only by their debaucheries. The American officers it is true, from the nature of their education, appear to be less men of the world. Some of them too have been reproached with being tradesmen, but a tradesman in America is quite a different creature from a tradesman in Europe. Some of the best families in this country bring up their sons to trades, and, long before the present war, tradesmen filled some of the most important offices in government. I have been charmed to find many of them whose manners were liberal—and whose minds were enlarged with a considerable acquaintance with politicks and history. But by far the greatest part of the American officers are farmers and farmers sons of independent or easy fortunes. Many of them have been bred to the learned professions. I have the pleasure of knowing some of them who would not pass unnoticed in the politest court in Europe. But I value them most for their bravery and zeal in the service of their country. They have not been whipped from schools, nor driven by necessity into the army. Their pay is no allurement to them, for from the scarcity of goods, and the depreciation of the money, it is hardly sufficient to support them. They are above the common maxims of your "Soldiers of fortune," and have no other wish but to establish the liberties and independence of their country.

The taking of Philadelphia will probably make a noise in Europe—but it has no bad effect upon the minds of the people in America. They say that General Howe has only changed his prison from Brunswick to Philadelphia, for at no time has he possessed more territory here than he could cover with his out-posts. I am clearly of the opinion that his taking Philadelphia will be a real advantage to this country. It has long been the jakes of disaffection to the American cause, and the sanctuary of tories and traitors who have fled from every other part of the Continent. I have constantly observed that America acquires strength by the progress of Howe's army—for where-ever he goes he confirms the timid and the neutral characters in the cause of America, and at the same time like a good scavenger carries away all the tory filth with him that lies in his way.

I refer you to my letter of February last for an account of General Washington, the amiable and illustrious commander-in-chief of the American army. His perseverance and magnanimity have not forsaken him.

Adieu my dear friend, and believe me to be with the greatest affection,

Your most sincere friend and

Most humble servant,

DE LISLE.

PENNSYLVANIA MILITIA AT BATTLE OF WHITE MARSH, 1777.—

The *Editor of the Penna. Magazine* has been requested by a correspondent, who is a member of the Pennsylvania Society in New York, to furnish a list of the battalions of Pennsylvania Militia with Washington's army, in the engagement at Whitmarsh. The following list of the battalions with the names of the officers commanding, are taken from the return of Ludwig Sprogell, Muster Master General of Pennsylvania, dated at Whitmarsh, November 24, 1777.

<i>City of Philadelphia</i> , Infantry.	Col. William Bradford,
“ “	Col. Sharp Delaney
“ “	Lt. Col. Jonathan B. Smith,
“ “	Col. William Will,
“ “	Col. Joseph Cowperthwaite,
“ “	Robert Knox,
“ “ Artillery.	Col. Jehu Eyre,
<i>Philadelphia County</i> .	Col. Daniel Hiester,
“ “	Col. John Moore,
“ “	Col. Benjamin McVaugh,
“ “	Col. William Dean,
“ “	Col. Robert Curry,
<i>Chester County</i> .	Col. John Hannum,
“ “	Col. Evan Evans,
“ “	Lt. Col. John Ralston,
“ “	Col. William Evans,
“ “	Lt. Col. George Pierce,
<i>Bucks County</i> .	Col. Hugh Tomb,
“ “	Lt. Col. James McMasters,
“ “	Major John Folwell,
<i>Lancaster County</i> .	Col. Philip Greenwalt,
“ “	Col. James Watson,
“ “	Col. Alexander Lowry,
<i>York County</i> .	Col. James Thomson,
“ “	Col. William
“ “	Col. David Jamison,
<i>Cumberland County</i> .	Col. James Dunlap,
“ “	Lt. Col. John Davis,
<i>Berks County</i> .	Col. Daniel Hunter,
“ “	Col. Daniel Uttery,
“ “	Col. Michael Lindenmuth,
“ “	Col. Joseph Heister,
<i>Northampton County</i> .	Lt. Col. Stephen Balliett,
“ “	Col. George Brinigh,
<i>Northumberland County</i> .	Lt. Col. Hugh White.

The actual number fit for duty on this day was 6167 : deserters 432.

LETTER OF GEN. H. W. BENHAM TO S. A. DRAKE.—

U. S. ENGINEER OFFICE,
75 State Street;
BOSTON, MASS. May 27, 1875.

MY DEAR SIR.

Allow me to thank you for the much valued gift of your "Old Land Marks."

I believe I have told you that had I been a "gentleman of leisure," my studies and labors would have led me to similar pursuits—the gathering up, of the relics of the past; and as much those of persons, as of things. Yet I fear those F. F. B's (First Fools of Boston?) must think you in reality a S. A. D. = Rake for the bones of the Charnel houses of their ancestors, when they find as Mrs. B. did in "dipping" into your book yesterday such records as that of one lady who boasts so proudly of her *blood*—a "Beacon Street dame" if she ever gets her new house there, well enough furnished for her:—one who would tell Mrs. B. that she "weeps tears of blood at missing her invitation"—and the next week would not know her, though in the same room for hours—and here you shew—that her most vaunted ancestor—and *his widow after him* advertized and sold by the wharf "long cut, short cut and pigtail" yes—*pigtail*!—Oh! tell it not in Gath, nor publish it "in Beacon St."

Very faithfully yours

S. A. DRAKE, Esq.

H. W. BENHAM.

THE "STATE GUARD" OF PHILADELPHIA, 1814.—

AMONG the military companies of Philadelphia, who volunteered their services during the War 1812–1815, was the "State Guards" who served in the campaign of 1814, at Camp Brandywine and Camp DuPont. The following is the roll of the Company:

Captain.

Henry Meyers.

Lieutenants.

I. H. Fisler,

George Billington,

Alexander McCaraheer.

Ensign.

Daniel H. Miller.

*Sergeants.*Andrew Geyer,
George Richards,George Benners,
Jacob Heyburger,

George Harman.*

*Corporals.*Joseph S. Colloday,
Thomas Worn,Peter C. Meyers,
Thomas M. Rush,

Jacob Burkhart.*

* Died prior to July, 1829.

Privates.

- * Andrews, Nicholas
- Bartholomew, Joseph
- Bains, Isaac
- Bartleson, Peter
- * Barry, John
- Bancroft, Stacy
- * Benners, Henry
- Bechler, Tobias
- Bicknell, Charles
- Boyer, John
- * Buck, John
- Busby, Hezekiah
- * Burrows, Jacob
- Brackenridge, George
- Brock, John
- * Bruce, William
- Clark, David
- Colloday, William
- Cooper, James
- Christian, Thomas
- Clymer, Jacob
- * Correy, Walter
- Comby, Joshua
- * Dungan, William
- Dunlap, Silas
- Everitt, Jonathan
- Gardner, Robert
- Gardner, Jacob H.
- Garrison, John
- Gravenstein, William
- Gillins, Theodore
- Gobrecht, Christian
- Goodwin, Comter
- Hansell, James
- Hawse, John
- Hamilton, John
- Harmon, Jacob Jr.
- * Hollinbush, Henry
- * Hout, Henry
- Hollahan, John
- Hertzhog, Peter
- Hill, Joseph
- Keemle, Samuel
- Keyser, Joseph
- Kennedy, William D.
- * Knight, Isaiah
- Kreider, John
- King, Joseph
- Kookogey, John
- Jackaway, Nathan
- Lowderback, Peter
- Lyons, Mordecai
- Magee, Hugh
- McClintock, Joseph
- McDonald, Daniel
- * Meyers, George G.
- * Mills, Smith
- Murphy, John
- Morris, John
- Mitchell, Elijah
- Mingle, John Jr.
- Newman, Daniel
- Noxson, Joseph G.
- Owens, Owen
- Parkham, Robert
- Porter, McKimney
- Price, Isacher
- * Pollock, John
- Pool, William
- * Pennell, Henry P.
- Peterson, Samuel
- Record, Alexander
- Richson, Philip
- Roberts, Israel
- Riley, Joseph
- Rush, John
- * Sainder, Peter
- Sink, John
- Sink, Peter
- Saskey, John
- * Smith, Jacob
- Smith, Joseph
- South, Joseph
- Shinn, Caleb
- Shunk, Isaac
- Shuster, Laurence
- Skinner, William
- Shinkle, Jacob
- Slahter, Jacob
- Sagers, Samuel D.
- Stangen, Thomas
- Seckel, Joshua C.
- Stout, George
- Snyder, Peter
- Strock, Joseph
- Thompson, Thomas
- * Vanstaven, William
- * Wilstack, John A.
- Warnock, John
- Weiss, William
- West, Richard
- Yeager, Joseph
- Lechler, *Drummer*
- Breamer, *Fifer*

*Died prior to July, 1829. Walter Correy and Isaiah Knight died at camp.

In July of 1829, the following circular was issued :

SIR.

A number of the surviving Members of the Volunteer Company of "State Guards" who served in the Campaign of 1814, at Camp Brandywine and Camp Dupont, feel desirous of celebrating together the day when they first marched in defence of "Their Country and its Rights."

You are therefore particularly requested to attend a Meeting of your "Old Associates in Arms," on Thursday evening, the 5th day of August next, at Worn's Tavern, on Fourth below New Street, in order to ascertain whether it would be generally agreed to.

July 27th 1829.

 It will be observed that none but those who served during the Campaign are invited.

At the meeting of the survivors of the company held at Worn's Tavern, George Benners was elected Treasurer, and the dinner was set for September 22, 1829. It was also ascertained, that twenty-six members had died; seven were absent from the city; six unknown; and seventy-nine were residing in the city. Of the latter the following forty-seven subscribed for the dinner :

Jacob H. Fisler,
Daniel H. Miller,
Hugh S. Magee,
Jonathan Everitt,
Peter Snyder,
Joseph Yeager,
Jacob Clymer,
John Boyer,
Israel Roberts,
Daniel Newman,
Samuel D. Sagers,
Laurence Shuster,
William Gravenstein,
Thomas M. Rush,
Joshua C. Seckel,
John Hamilton,
John Warnock,
Alex. McCaraker,
William Weiss,
Thomas Worn,
Joseph S. Riley,
James Hansell,
Tobias Bechler,

T. Gillins,
John Holohan,
Jacob Shinkle,
Isaac Barnes,
Peter Sink,
Jacob H. Gardner,
Theodore Gillins,
Jacob Slahter,
Alexander, Read
Mordacia Lyons,
John Garrison,
John Hawse,
Samuel Keehmle,
Joseph Keyser,
Jacob Harman, Jr.,
Silas Dunlap,
Charles Bicknell,
William Skinner,
Christian Gobrecht,
Hez. Busby,
John Brock,
Capt. H. Meyers,
Peter C. Meyers,

G. Billington.

The foregoing material was presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Miss Benners and Mrs. Ashbridge.

INCIDENT OF INDIAN ATROCITIES IN LYNN TOWNSHIP (LEHIGH COUNTY), 1756.—

February 14. "Two children of John George Ziesloff were murdered by the Indians, and a third carried into captivity. On March 24, following, while Ziesloff was fleeing with the remainder of his family, they were set upon by the savages, and he, his wife and four children were killed. They had been advised to flee for safety to Bethlehem, but chose to seek a place of safety elsewhere." *Lynn Church Book.*

WASHINGTON ALMANAC FOR 1818-1819, printed in Philadelphia by D. Dickinson, interleaved, contains the following records of local interest :

1818 Feby 4. Delaware frozen over, good skating.

Feby 15. Clear and very cold ; hundreds of people on the Delaware.

Feby 28. At 3 p.m. ice in the Delaware broke up.

March 2. The Delaware so freed from ice as to allow all the vessels to arrive which had been detained below.

March 4. Continued heavy rain.

March 5. About 2 a.m. the wind shifted suddenly to N. W. followed by snow storm.

May 2. Snow and frost.

June 28. Thermometer at 2 p.m. 90°.

June 29. Thermometer at 4 p. m. 92°.

July 12. (Sunday), Very warm, Therm. 95°, 4. p.m.

Dec. 5-6. Hurricane at S. E., great deal of damage done to the shipping.

Dec. 19. Very cold, the Delaware full of ice, navigation nearly closed.

Decbr 25. Christmas, weather moderate.

Dec. 31. Rainy.

1819, Jany. 31. The weather, for the season, so very pleasant, the like not known for *fifty years*. No ice in the Delaware.

Feby. 1-10. Very pleasant weather, some days extremely sultry. Saw a honey suckle bush out in leaves.

March 9. Masonic hall destroyed by fire, which began at 8 p.m. and lasted until midnight ; at half-past nine the steeple fell. It was dedicated in 1811, and cost \$20,000.

March 11. A meeting of Masons took place at Washington Hall ; decided to rebuild the Hall ; about 1000 present.

HOW THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WAS CELEBRATED IN PHILADELPHIA.—The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, *Pennsylvania Journal*, and *Henry Miller's Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote* for July 9th, and the *Evening Post* of July 5, 1777, contain accounts of the unique manner in which the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was celebrated in Philadelphia. The following is copied from the *Evening Post* :—

Yesterday the 4th of July, being the Anniversary of the Independence of the United States of America, was celebrated in this city with demonstrations of joy and festivity. About noon all the armed ships and galleys in the river were drawn up before the city, dressed in the gayest

manner, with the colours of the United States and streamers displayed. At one o'clock, the yards being properly manned, they began the celebration of the day by a discharge of thirteen cannon from each of the ships, and one from each of the thirteen galleys, in honor of the Thirteen United States.

In the afternoon an elegant dinner was prepared for Congress, to which were invited the President and Supreme Executive Council, and Speaker of the Assembly of this state, the General Officers and Colonels of the army, and strangers of eminence, and the Members of the several Continental Boards in town. The Hessian band of music, taken in Trenton the 26th of December last, attended and heightened the festivity with some fine performances suited to the joyous occasion, while a corps of British deserters, taken into the service of the continent by the state of Georgia, being drawn up before the door, filled up the intervals with *feux de joie*. After dinner a number of toasts were drank, all breathing independance, and a generous love of liberty, and commemorating the memories of those brave and worthy patriots who gallantly exposed their lives, and fell gloriously in defence of freedom and the righteous cause of their country.

Each toast was followed by a discharge of artillery and small arms, and a suitable piece of music by the Hessian band.

The glorious fourth of July was reiterated three times, accompanied with triple discharges of cannon and small arms, and loud huzzas that resounded from street to street through the city. Towards evening several troops of horse, a corps of artillery, and a brigade of North-Carolina forces, which was in town on its way to join the grand army, were drawn up in Second-street, and reviewed by Congress and the General Officers. The evening was closed with the ringing of bells, and at night there was a grand exhibition of fireworks (which began and concluded with thirteen rockets) on the Commons, and the city was beautifully illuminated. Everything was conducted with the greatest order and decorum, and the face of joy and gladness was universal.

Thus may the fourth of July, that glorious and ever memorable day, be celebrated through America, by the sons of freedom, from age to age time shall be no more. Amen, and amen.

LETTERS OF GENERAL THOMAS GAGE TO SIR WM. JOHNSON.

NEW YORK October 14th 1764

DEAR SIR,

I have received your Letter of the 30th of Sept^r and herewith transmit you the memorandum mentioned before, concerning your warrant; which upon a nicer Inspection I find, that I had entirely mistaken. The vouchers to be lodged in the secretary's office here, are for the Southern Department only, and do not concern you. I therefore return you the only voucher you sent me, so that all is right again.

It is not easy to Judge what the Shawnese and Delawares will do, or what Colonel Bradstreet will do; if He is fed up with Hopes, and his People not come in. I was from the Beginning of opinion that the Indians would keep them, looking with some Reason upon their Negotiations only as a Deceit. The Philadelphia Paper which arrived yesterday still mentions their infesting the Frontier of Virginia.

I have just got Letters from Col^o Bradstreet of the 12th of Sept^r from Detroit, Since Major Gladwin's Departure the ottawas Chippewas &c. had made their Peace. I transmit you a Copy of their Treaty. Pondiac was at the Miamie with all the Twigtwees and Indians of the onabache which could be collected. Captain Morris of the 17th saw them all in his way to the Illinois. Pondiac still despotick, but was become tractable, and was to meet Col^o Bradstreet at Sandusky, to treat, I understand, for Himself. The Army was to set off for Sandusky about the 14th of Sept^r.

Colonel Bouquet was at F. Pitt on the 26th ul^{mo} and passed the ohio a few Days afterwards. He had had an Accidental Interview with some Delawar Indians, whom he reproached for their traiterous Infraction of their late Negotiations, which He gave for Reason of his Marching on ; and sent some of them to inform their Nations of it, and to Send their Chiefs to him, to give satisfaction for their Murders. He proposed to send others with some of his own People, with Letters to Colonel Bradstreet, and to detain a number of the Indians as Hostages for their Safety. The Mohawks and other Indians you sent to Him, had not then joined Him.

The French seem resolved to give us all the Trouble they can, I was in Hopes they were moved away by this time, and had given up New orleans to Spain. I have had no news from the Southward this long Time.

What you observe about calling the Indians to frequent Conferences may no Doubt have a very good Effect. The Neglect of this was said to be in part the Reason of their not being hearty in our Cause, the Beginning of last War. This and Many other Expedients may be necessary to cement our union with them ; and a great deal will depend, on our finishing our Matters with the Shawnese and Delawares. A Little Time will clear this up, and we shall then judge, what is proper to be done, upon the whole. Our Concerns with Indians are now greatly extended by our Acquisitions in the late war. And we seem to have occasion for some settled, uniform, System for the Management of Indian Affairs. The Number of your Deputys, Interpreters &c. should be increased, and the several Nations with whom they are to deal, allotted to them. To begin at Detroit and take in the whole Country from thence round by Missilimakinak and by the Illinois River to Fort-Chartres, and from thence down the Mississippi and up the Ohio to Fort-Pitt, seems the Tract of Country immediately under our Consideration. The rest is under your own Eye or your Deputy in Canada. You will be so good as to take this rough sketch under your Consideration and think of what Plan will be the best to pursue, for a general System, additions or alterations may be made afterwards, as Experience shall direct. Conferences may possibly be so managed in the different Districts as to embrace the whole. The Trade is another Consideration, for which I hear Commissarys will be appointed. The Treatment of the Indians at the Posts is likewise Material, and that shall be regulated. You know the Posts we occupy, the Quantity and nature of the Presents to be furnished the officers Commd^s and on what Accounts they are chiefly to be given deserves also to be mentioned. I throw out loose thoughts as they occur. You will be the best Judge what is worth adopting and what Rules are the most proper to establish.

You will probably soon have occasion of an Interview with some of

the Senecas ; and may sound them concerning the Carrying Place. we may make a Merit of every thing we do in their Favor as they have by Treaty given up the whole. I am with great Regard,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient,
humble Servant,
THO^S GAGE.

SIR W^M JOHNSON, BART.

NEW YORK Dec^r 30th 1765

DEAR SIR,

Captain Stirling got safe to the Illinois on the 9th of October, and came so unexpectedly and suddenly upon them, that there was no Time to form Plots or to cabal against him. He immediately got Possession of Fort Chartres, which he says is the best Fort in America. The Indians were at first frightened and came running with Pipes of Peace and Belts, but no sooner the saw the smallness of his Detachment than they became very insolvent. There was no Acc^t of Major Farmar on the 10th of October, but I hope the 34th Reg^t will get up before the winter. Captain Stirling complains of the want of an Interpreter or Indian Agent, and I write to Mr. Croghan to send M^cKee or Smallman, who are all now at Philadelphia: Wharton & C^o intend sending some Boat-Loads of Goods from Fort Pitt, immediately, unless the Frost sets in to prevent them. A Letter from one of the Officers at Fort-Chartres says, near 4000 Indians come there every year. The French have formed two settlements on the opposite Side of the River.

I have received your Letter of 21st Ins^t inclosing a Court of Enquiry held at Niagara. It's to be hoped that the Murtherer maybe discovered, that the savages may have no Pretence to break with us. The Intelligence you have received from Lieu^t Colonel Campbele and Cap^t Howard may be true or false, but we have Reason to suspect the Ponteatamies who have been ready for all Mischief; and don't seem ever to have been thoroughly reconciled to us. And the Chippewas are People of the same Character. The ottawas seemed a better kind of Indian, and we had reason to hope from Pondiac's Behavior, that He and his Nation were now reconciled. Lieu^t Colonol Campbele will doubtless be upon his Guard and thro' means of the Hurons may be able to learn the Truth of these Reports.

I have wrote to Cap^t Murray at Fort Pitt about condoling with the shawnese in the Manner you desire; and have mentioned the same thing to M^r Croghan. Cap^t Murray can do it if there is any Person who can assist him as Interpreter, but it might be better if M^cKee was present, and I imagine that M^r Croghan will send him up.

With Respect to the supposed Murtherer of the Indian, I imagine he may be taken up on the Evidences of the Persons examined at Niagara; or perhaps the Court of Enquiry may be sufficient. And on that Acc^t I return it to you. And if the Description of Him and the Circumstances which shall appear further on his examination are transmitted to the Detroit proper Evidences may be procured there to prosecute him.

I am with great Regard

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient
humble Servant
THO^S GAGE.

TO SIR W^M JOHNSON.

SOME FAMILY EXPENSES OF A CENTURY AGO.—The following items have been selected from the "Family Expense Book" of a well-known gentleman of this city, about a century ago :

To Daniel Jandon, for 90 days schooling of daughter \$6.

Report.

Late . . .	0	. .	times.
Absent . . .	2	. .	"
* Missed . . .	40	. .	"
Merit . . .	40	. .	"
Behaviour No. 1.			
Receives . . .	a	. .	Premium.

2 Pyramids of Ice Cream 3 pts each \$3.75 2 lbs cakes \$1.

1 Silver Tea Pot, \$38.15 ; 1 Silver Water Pot, \$35.10 ; 1 Sugar Dish \$25.03 ; 1 Silver Slop Bowl, \$20.08 ; 1 Cream Ewer, 12.9 ; 132 oz 5 @ 2.30 \$304.17.

Port Wine, \$9. per doz. ; Ale, Porter and Cider per doz. \$1.25 ; Champagne \$20. per doz. ; French Brandy, \$2.50 per gal.

White silk gloves, \$7.50 per doz. ; tan silk gloves, \$4. per doz. ; white figured Satin, 90c per yd ; Canton Crepe Shawl, \$4.80 ; Umbrella, \$2.25 ; bottle of Lavender, \$1.50 ; Pomatum, 25c ; Leghorn hats, \$9. @ \$13. ; 1 Bot. Cologne, 75c ; 1 plaid coat, \$10. ; 1 pr. Corsets, \$3.50 ; 1 bonnet \$9.50 ; Lace veil, \$8. ; Black silk velvet, \$2.50 per yd ; Bottle silk velvet, \$3. pr yd. ; Drab silk velvet, \$4. pr yd. ; Trimming Leghorn hat with feathers, \$5. ; Ladies Patent Lever, Gold dial watch, engine turned case, Rose edges, \$122.

Dental bill: Cleaning teeth, filing and cutting out 4 decays, filling 4 cavities with gold, \$26.50.

Rent of Harp for 6 mo. \$31.25 ; 1 qr. instruction on Harp, \$50. ; Guitar and case, \$18. ; 1 qr. instruction on piano, \$18. ; 1 qr. tuition in French, \$8. ; Philada. Academy, 1 quarter \$20. ; University of Pennsylvania, Freshmans Class, 1 quarter, \$20. ; Miss Bazeley's school, \$50. per qr. ; Dancing per qr. \$10.

1 Trunk, with engraved brass plate, \$11. ; Regent's blue cloth coat with velvet collar, \$42.50 ; Black Beaver hat, \$8. ; 1 pr. boots, \$7. ; silk suspenders, \$1. ; 1 pair horses, \$375. ; Fancy chairs \$6. each, arm chair \$9. ; 1 large wing'd wardrobe, \$120.

1 Stove, \$28. ; Imperial Tea, \$2.78 per lb. ; 1 bbl. Superfine Flour, \$14.25 ; $\frac{1}{2}$ peck ice daily per week, \$1. ; Ham, 16c per lb. ; Venison, 15c per lb.

Purchase of pew in St Stephen's P. E. Church, \$255 ; dues on 1 share Library Company of Philadelphia, 15 shillings.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR THE YEAR 1910.

The following selections have been made from the annual report of Dr. John W. Jordan, Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for the year 1910. The accessions of books, 1458 ; pamphlets, 4228 ; manuscripts, 1461 ; and miscellaneous, 1113. The following are deserving of special mention :

Benjamin West Collection of 7 royal folios of manuscripts and sketches, 2 sketch books; oil portraits of George III and Queen Charlotte, by West; portrait of West, by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

Newspapers, 11 vols., Directories of Philadelphia, model of steam yacht Dorothea, presented to the U. S. Government, from Thomas McKean.

Letter of Admiral Robley D. Evans, U. S. N., describing the destruction of the Spanish fleet off Santiago, from Capt. J. B. O'Neil.

Silver watch of Washington, and letter of Washington to Major George Lewis, from William Alexander Smith.

13 Books, 232 pamphlets and 212 miscellaneous, from Hon. James T. Mitchell.

304 pamphlets, from Dr. S. Solis Cohen.

India ink portrait of Dr. William Shippen the elder; miniature of Col. Isaac Roberdeau, by Rembrandt. Peale, from Roberdeau Buchanan.

Silver castor of Jonathan Mifflin, from Mrs. James Mifflin.

Oil portrait of Thomas Mifflin, by Copley, from estate Mrs. William Mifflin.

2 oil paintings of naval engagements by Thomas Birch, from estate of W. C. Kehmle.

Watch of Count Donop, killed at Fort Mercer, from W. H. Ramborger.

Portrait from life of Major Gen. Anthony Wayne, by Elouis, from Mrs. Joseph W. Drexel.

Mahogany secretary bookcase, used by Lafayette, from Mrs. W. C. Hewes.

8 Mahogany chairs, purchased at the sale of effects of President Washington in Philadelphia, bequest of Elizabeth Burkhart.

Illustrated genealogy in manuscript of the Hare-Powel family, from Robert J. Hare Powel.

Oil portrait of Daniel Webster; unframed portraits of Washington, Napoleon and Webster, and a bronze bust of Washington, from estate Frank Hazeltine.

Oil painting "The Parting of the Boats," (Jeanette Artic Expedition,) by Briscoe, from Mrs. Fannie Muhr.

Oil portrait Major W. S. Diller, and his military papers, from bequest LeRoy Diller.

"Journal C." of Dr. John Morgan, 1781-88, containing a list of the members of the American Philosophical Society, 1769-1774, purchased by the Society.

20 vols. English Parish Registers, 7 vols. books, 76 pamphlets, from W. Brooke Rawle, 329 Manuscripts, from Theodore M. Hart. 188 Manuscripts, relating to the Civil War, from Mrs. Hannah Schmitt.

369 Manuscripts, Muster Rolls and Certificates of Bounty Fund, from the Christopher Sower Co.

24 books, 90 pamphlets, from Miss Juliana Wood. 14 vols. of Records from the Genealogical Society, viz. Bucks Co. Marriages and early wills, 1677-1686; Delaware Co. Wills, 1786-1835; Records Orphans' Court of Philadelphia 1716-1755; Marriage license bonds, New Castle Co., Delaware, 1744-1836; Records Salem Reformed Church, Dover, 1745-1907 (2 vols.); Records Evangelical Lutheran Church, Upper Milford, Penna.; Tombstone inscriptions Trinity P. E. Church,

Southwark, Philada., Records Zions Lutheran Church, Lehigh Co., Penn.; 1758-1903; Record of interments, Asbury M. E. Church, Philada.; 1829-1868; Docket of John Wilson, Bucks Co., Penna. 1779-1805; Records St. Andrews P. E. Church, Philada., 1823-1905; Welsh settlers of Hilltown and New Britain, Penna.; Records Evangelical Lutheran Church, Oley, Berks Co., Penna., 1753-1799. Valuable donations to the Society have also been made by the following members and friends: Louis Ashbrook, H. G. Ashmead, N. W. Ayres & Sons, Thomas Willing Balch, Miss Emily Bell, Mrs. H. M. Berlin, Robert M. Beath, Charles S. Bradford, Charles H. Browning, O. C. Bosbyshell, Hampton L. Carson, Mrs. Hampton L. Carson, Charles A. Converse, Miss Josephine H. Carr, Richard Y. Cooke, John B. Clement, the Misses Cresson, Gherardi Davis, Herbert Duprey, Elbert J. Edwards, H. Frank Eshleman, the Misses Elliott, Herman Faber, Howard O. Folker, Charles C. French; E. Burd, Foster C. Griffith, G. W. B. Hicks, Mrs. T. R. Harper, Miss Mary Stockton Hunter, John J. L. Houston, Charles Henry Hart, Joseph F. Jackson, John W. Jordan, Ewing Jordan, William H. Jordan, Gregory B. Keen, Francis Fisher Kane, De B. Randolph Keim, Dr. Henry Leffman, William H. Lambert, Arthur H. Lea, William Leveritt, William W. Longstreth, John K. Lacock, Mrs. E. L. Marshall, Dr. C. K. Mills, the Misses Murray, M. R. Muckle, Horace Magee, J. Hampton Moore, W. Nelson Mayhew, Clarence B. Moore, John B. McPherson, John Marshall, John P. Nicholson, Dr. Geo. W. Nains, William Nelson, E. P. Oberholtzer, Samuel W. Pennypacker, William A. Patton, Geo. Ransberry, Francis Rawle, Francis X. Reuss, Miss Mary J. Stille, Mrs. W. Hinckle Smith, D. M^c N. Stauffer, T. Guilford Smith, Miss Tenbrook, C. H. B. Turner, H. T. Underdown, C. H. Vinton, Joseph Willcox, Stephen W. White, John R. Witcraft, Mrs. Talcott Williams, Mrs. Ashbel Welch and George F. P. Wanger.

During the year, the steel cases for the newspaper files were erected, and the papers arranged by States chronologically.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF THE MORAVIAN CONGREGATION AT OLDMANS CREEK, N. J., 1777-78. Rev. Frederick Schmidt, pastor.

September 11. All day long there was a heavy cannonading, and afterwards we heard that a battle had taken place between the two armies at the Brandywine River.

September 26. Henry Miller, the printer and bookseller, arrived from Philadelphia.

September 27. Nicholas Garrison and wife came from Philadelphia as fugitives. Miller was lodged with Mrs. Gill, and the Garrisons with us at the parsonage.

October 1. All are in alarm! Henry Miller leaves for Reading, Penna. An English troop has landed three miles from here.

October 22. Fearful cannonading shook the house like an earthquake. (It was the action at Red Bank).

December 3. Twenty American militiamen were quartered in the parsonage.

1778, February. American militiamen are again quartered in the parsonage.

February 25. Over two thousand English troops pass, on their way to Salem. The house was full of soldiers—polite, but carry off trifles.

February 26. The Garrisons leave for Bethlehem, having been here five months. There is talk of flight amongst the neighbors. My wife and self are determined to remain.

May 10. Many militiamen attended the services.

June 12. A skirmish took place near by between the English and the militiamen: one of the latter was killed. A report prevails that the English were about to march through Jersey, to kill and to set fire to everything.

June 21. We heard this week that the English army had left Philadelphia and are marching towards New York.

October 4. A new alarm. English troops have landed at Egg Harbor, and many of our local militiamen have been ordered thither.

In 1780, reference is made to the difficulties of travel and the interruption of communication with the outside world, owing to the destruction of the bridges. The winter following was one of exceptional severity, the ink in Pastor Schmidt's inkstand freezing.

AMONG THE WHARTON PAPERS, in the Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, are many interesting items relating to the school days of Charles Mifflin. Supplementing what was published in PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. xxxiii, p. 365, are the following:—

I Began January 3 to Keep a Diary in which time I said 38 morning Lessons in Eng. Gram^r: I Recited 21 morning Lessons in Eng. Syntax, Read Eng. History 123 Attended Remarks on the Same once Had Exercises in Geography & Maps 5 times Recited 118 Corderius Lessons Attended Lectures & Exercises 123 times. Wrote 30 Copies Head of the Second Class 9 times Foot name Head of the First, twice Foot none Had Tryals for Places 12, I was Head twice M. Raser 4 times C. Bensele twice I Neglee once T. Livesey C. Engle Geo. Mifflin once Attended Divine Service at the Friends meeting 11 time Read 80 Chapters in the Holy Bible Absent none Omitted morning Lessons twice.

1764 *March* Masters Certificate that Charles Mifflin has Performed his School Exercises in General Well makes Proficiency in Eng. Parsing & Latin but is too remiss in his morning Lessons which will put him behind his Class, if he does not Mend.

P. WEBSTER.

TO MR THO^S WHARTON,
his Guardian.

Germantown Decm^r 18, 1764 Receiv'd of Thomas Wharton the Sum of Seven pounds Sixteen shillings being in full for one quarters board of Charles Mifflin & for sixpence p Week supplied said Charles during this Quarter, which ended the 10th of this Month rec'd for my husband James Delaplain

£7.16.0.

ANN DELAPLEAIN

DODD-HOLLAND and other family records, copied from Bible of Mrs. Charles Jones, Lewes, Delaware, and contributed by Rev. C. H. B. Turner.

William Dodd the son of W^m Dodd and Elizabeth his wife was Born September the 14th 1775

Elenore Bruce Daughter of Alexander Bruce and Ester his wife was Born May the 26th 1778

Eliza Turner Dodd Daughter of W^m Dodd and Elenore his wife was Born September the 17th 1799

Maria Dodd the Daughter of W^m Dodd and Elenore his wife was Born October the 24th day Anno Domini 1801

Comfort Bruce Dodd daughter of W^m Dodd and Elenor his Wife was Born Feb. 11th 1804

Hannah Dodd Daughter of W^m Dodd & Elenor his Wife was Born December the 25th Day Anno Domini 1805

Elenor Bruce Dodd Daughter of W^m Dodd and Elenor his Wife was Born April the 14th 1808

Joseph Hazlett Dodd son of W^m Dodd and Elenor his Wife was Born October 6th 1810

Amy Dodd Daughter of W^m Dodd & Elenor his Wife was Born April the 22th Anno Domini 1814

William Alexander Dodd the Son of W^m Dodd and Elenor his Wife was Born August the 11th day Anno Domini 1820

Ebenezer the Son of John Holland & Elizabeth his Wife was Born Sept 4th 1801

Maria Holland the Daughter of Ebenezer Holland and Eliza T. Holland his wife was Born June the 18th 1827

Ann Robbins Holland the Daughter of Ebenzer Holland & Eliza his Wife was Born January the 7th 1829

Hetty Elenor Holland Daughter of Ebenezer Holland and Eliza his Wife was Born June 21th 1831

Hannah Newbold Holland the Daughter of Ebenezer Holland and Eliza his Wife was Born March 22, 1833

Joseph Holland the Son of Ebenezer Holland and Eliza his Wife was Born September the 12th 1835

Tabitha Holland Daughter of Ebenezer Holland and Eliza his Wife was Born February the 11th 1837

William Dodd Holland the Son of Ebenezer Holland and Eliza his Wife was Born March the 22nd 1839

John Paynter Holland the Son of Ebenezer Holland and Eliza his Wife was Born August the 6th 1841

Albert Bruce Holland the Son of Ebenezer Holland & Eliza his Wife was Born January the 4th 1846

Hannah N Lank the Daughter of John C. Lank and Hannah his Wife was Born November the 14th 1859

Mary Alif Daughter of Joseph Aylif and Amy his Wife Departed this life May the 14th Day about 6 oclock in the morning, Anno Domini 1803. Supposed to be about Seventy years of Age

Hannah Newbold the wife of James Newbold departed this life August the 15th in the year of Our Lord 1825 Supposed to be 73 years 2 months old

William Dodd departed this life March the 31st in the year of Our Lord 1838.

Aged 62 years 6 months & 16 days

Eleanor Dodd Departed this Life April the 3^d day in the year of Our Lord 1840

Aged 61 years 10 mo. & 23 days

Wallace W. White and Tabitha Holland were married December 24 1862

John P. Holland and Maggie A. White were married December 29th 1868

Maggie A. Holland, wife of John P. Holland, departed this life August 18, 1869

Ebenezer Holland & Eliza T. Dodd were Married May the 3^d 1826

Hannah N. Lank the Daughter of Ebenezer Holland and Eliza his Wife Departed this life the 24 Day of December 1859. Age 26 years 9 months 2 days

COPY OF THE NONCUPATIVE WILL AND PROBATE, OF JOHN HILL,
DECEASED.

Contributed by Rev. C. H. B. Turner.

Sussex County } The Last Will & Testament of John Hill of
to Wit } Angola Neck in Sussex County deceased. Declared
by word of mouth on the 10th day of November 1777. (being then sick
of the sickness whereof he died) In the presence of us the Subscribers
who Sign our names as Witnesses thereof which words so spoken were
as follows, before Mary Day. Molloy must have schooling and Sib, the
Chest with all her mothers Cloaths the rest must be divided and Ezekiel
West must pay himself out of it.

her
Mary X Day { SEAL }
mark

Witness Jn^o Taylor.

Before Sarah Hazzard upon her asking John Hill what he meant to do with his Children. He said he left all his Children, and what there was to Ezekiel West to School his Children and pay himself.

her
Sarah A Hazzard
mark

Witness Jn^o Taylor

Before Margaret West, John Hill talking to Ezekiel West said take all the Children and all what I have.

her
Margaret M West
mark

Witness Jn^o Taylor.

Before William Blizard Jn^r John Hill speaking to Ezekiel West said take the Children, take care of them take all what I have after Polloy has her mothers Cloaths and Chest, and my debts paid let the rest be divided amongst the other three.

William Blizard

Witness Jn^o Taylor.

Be it remembered that on the Tenth day of November, 1777 before me Phillips Kollock, Reg^r for the probate of Wills & Granting Letters

of Administration for the County of Sussex Personally appeared Sarah Hazzard, Mary Day & William Blizard and made Oath on the holy Evangelists of Almighty God, That John Hill late of Sussex County Yeoman deceased in the Annexed paper writing mentioned did declare by word of mouth on the day therein mentioned to Wit the 10th day of November last past (he being then in his own dwelling house and sick of the Sickness whereof he died) in the presence of the said deponants did pronounce the Contents of the paper writing afs^d to be his Will & Desire & that at the time of the doing thereof the said deceased was to the best of their apprehensions of sound and disposing mind memory and understanding And that the words so pronounced by the said deceased were committed to writing on the 13th day of November, 1777. by these deponants

Sworn & Subscribed the day and year
first above mentioned

her
Sarah A Hazzard
mark
William Blizard

Before Phillips Kollock, Reg^r.

LETTER J. MOORE TO FREEHOLDERS OF CEDAR CREEK HUNDRED.
Contributed by Rev. C. H. B. Turner, Lewes, Delaware.—

Gent.

I am informed that a great number of the inhabitants Freeholders of your hundred have been stopp'd from coming to Town to choose your Convention Men occasioned by a resolve of the Committee of Inspection as is supposed. whereby it is directed that the election of the Convention Men are to be held in the respective Hundreds of the County, in the first place, The committee had as much right to make such resolve as the King of France & no more. secondly By an express resolve of the Committee of Inspection pass'd some time ago not less than two thirds of the whole committee of the County were enabled to do business and it is beyond a doubt that not more than twenty of the Committee were there this a number of the inhabitants of your Hundred hears from M^r Groves on Saturday last.

This appears to be a mere stroke of those persons to avoid your giving your votes at a time when they are more necessary than it ever was at any election, because what it to be done by the Convention is to last while the Government lasts.

The Committee in their resolves set out with an absolute falsehood because they say this County was not represented in the late house of Assembly, which is not so as three Members of the County were there, beside if this County was not represented in Assembly how cou'd this County be represented in Committee when not more than twenty persons were there, who were not a *quorem* under the resolve afs^d.

But the Committee had no right to make such resolve because the people at the time they were chosen invested them with no such power at the time they were chosen, nor have they it by any order of Congress consequently they had no more right to make any such resolve (as I have said before) than they had to make Laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever. because it appears to be no more than an attempt to deprive you of the right which you have hitherto enjoyed as freemen.

Y^{rs}

To the Freeholders inhabitants of
Cedar Creek Hundred.

J. Moore.

Queries.

BRIG "NEGOCIATOR."—Particulars are requested relating to the wreck of the Brig "Negociator," Capt. James Nicoll, of Philadelphia. She is said to have been wrecked in 1809.—Data concerning Capt. Nicoll is also wanted.

WILLIAM ABBOTT,
141 East 25th Street,
New York City.

ST. JAMES CHURCH, KINGSESSING.—Do any of the readers of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE know of an engraving or sketch of any kind of St. James Church, Kingessing, prior to its being enlarged in 1855?

Book Notices.

HARRISON, WAPLES, AND ALLIED FAMILIES. Being the Ancestry of George Leib Harrison of Philadelphia, and of his wife Sarah Ann Waples. By their son William Welsh Harrison, LL.D., Philadelphia. Printed for private circulation only. One hundred copies printed on Whatman's hand-made paper and one on vellum; 176 pages, 83 illustrations and chart of ancestry.

This exceptionally handsome, well printed and superbly bound book, with eighty-two photogravures, gives the history of the Harrison family from about the year 1375, to the present time. The Harrisons were of Greystoke and Thurstonfield in Cumberland, England, and were among the early followers of the Quaker George Fox.

John Harrison of Philadelphia, son of Thomas Harrison, the emigrant, was a prominent chemist and the first successful manufacturer of sulphuric acid in America. He was Recorder of Philadelphia and one of the first Board of Managers of the Franklin Institute. He married Lydia Leib, sister of Dr. Michael Lieb, Postmaster of Philadelphia, United States Senator and General of the militia. Their son George Leib Harrison, LL.D., of Philadelphia, Philanthropist, and President of the Board of Public Charities, was the father of Mrs. William West Frazier, Charles Custis Harrison, LL.D., late Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, Alfred Craven Harrison, William Welsh Harrison, LL.D., and Mitchell Harrison.

The ancestry of Sarah Ann Waples has been carefully traced through Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, and the maternal lines of Custis, Wise, West, Scarborough, Thorogood and other prominent Virginia families have been interestingly described. The copy of this book presented to the Historical Society by Dr. Harrison has already attracted considerable attention, which it well merits. The researches in this country and abroad were made by William M. Mervine, genealogist, of Philadelphia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LISTS OF NEW ENGLAND SOLDIERS.—By Mary Ellen Baker, A.B. Boston, 1911. 8vo., pp. 56.

This bibliography of lists of New England soldiers who have served in the regular army and volunteer armies of the United States, whether

colonial or constitutional, is limited to printed books and pamphlets. The data has been carefully collected and will be found very helpful to all interested in the subject.

BARRATT'S CHAPEL AND METHODISM.—Historical Address delivered before Forty-third Wilmington Annual Conference, at Asbury Methodist Episcopal Church, Wilmington, Delaware, on Friday, March 7th, 1911. By Hon. Norris S. Barratt. The Historical Society of Delaware; 1911. 8vo., pp. 62. Illustrated.

"Barratt's Chapel and Methodism" is a volume of unusual historical and biographical merit, and contains much that is of more than local interest. It was at this chapel that Bishops Coke and Asbury first met in America, and arranged the preliminaries for forming the Methodist Episcopal Church in this country. The book, throughout, is a valuable contribution to the history of Methodism in the United States. It is attractively printed and replete with illustrations.

TRAVELS IN THE CONFEDERATION, 1783-1784.—From the German of Johann David Schoepf. Translated and edited by Alfred J. Morrison. Philadelphia, 1911. 2 Vols. Price \$6.00.

Dr. Schoepf's travels, of which we gave notice in a recent number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, has been published and is on sale by William J. Campbell, of this city. The translation and editing shows care and research, and the book is a credit to all concerned in the making of it. As the edition is limited, copies should be secured promptly.

A CALENDAR OF DELAWARE WILLS, NEW CASTLE COUNTY, 1682-1800.—Abstracted and compiled by the Historical Research Committee of the Colonial Dames of Delaware. New York, 1911. 8vo., pp. 218.

The Historical Research Committee of the Delaware Society of the Colonial Dames of America is to be highly commended for the publication of this work, for it will be found of the greatest value to genealogists and of interest to historians. These abstracts have been made none too soon, for many of the original wills, from frequent handling, have suffered considerable defacement. A very full index of names will be appreciated by all who consult the volume. Copies may be purchased of Mrs. Mary B. Wright, 704 West Street, or Mrs. J. Ernest Smith, Wilmington, Del., who compiled the work.



LAUREL HILL

NOW KNOWN AS

THE RANDOLPH MANSION, EAST FAIRMOUNT PARK, PHILADELPHIA

FRONT VIEW FACING EAST

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XXXV.

1911.

No. 4

LAUREL HILL

AND SOME COLONIAL DAMES WHO ONCE LIVED THERE.

BY WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE, ESQUIRE.

A paper read May 1, 1901, before the Society of The Colonial Dames of America, Chapter II, Philadelphia, upon the opening of the Randolph Mansion (as it is now called) in East Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, by that organization, in whose care and custody it had been placed by the Park Commissioners for restoration and occupancy.¹

*Members of the Society of The Colonial Dames of America,
Ladies and Gentlemen:—*

It is a common custom in these United States of ours to treat as almost antediluvian the events which occurred before the American Revolution. The result of that glorious struggle for liberty and the rights of man was

¹Some of the following matter appears also in the account of "Laurel Hill and the Rawle Family," in the Second Volume of "Some Colonial Mansions and Those who Lived in Them," edited by Mr. Thomas Allen Glenn. At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War Mr. Glenn entered the Military Service, leaving the article unfinished, and Mr. Henry T. Coates, the publisher of the book, requested me to finish it, which I did. I have not had any hesitancy, therefore, in repeating to some extent in this paper what I myself wrote for the work mentioned.—W. B. R.

certainly a deluge—political and social. But a mistake is made, I think, in ignoring, to the extent which our people generally do, the history of our country before that great *bouleversement*. Especially in the minds of your charming sex—whose thoughts, happily, are more apt to be concerned with the present and the future than with the past—there is a certain angelic halo of—what shall I term it?—mistiness—vagueness—concerning the historical sequence and co-relation of events, which strikes with perplexity those of us mere men who are inclined to indulge in historical research and to study the philosophy of history. Among other things, we would suppose that a Society of Colonial Dames would devote itself more than it does to the study of the people of Colonial times and to the publication of the manuscripts left by them, the preservation of the places, and the commemoration of the events connected with the history of the American Colonies *prior* to the day upon which their system of government as Colonies came to an end—the Fourth of July, 1776. And is not the motto of your Society "*Colere Coloniarum Gloriam*"?¹ When we see the very laudable and patriotic steps taken by societies of Colonial complexion and name in the way of commemorating events which occurred *after* the Continental system had been inaugurated, we are apt to ask ourselves whether those objects do not rather come within the field of work of the Societies of the Sons, and of the Daughters, of the Revolution? And this reminds me of the reply of a bright young lawyer whom we all know, when he was asked if he knew what name, as contra-distinguished from that of your older organization of Colonial Dames, a certain "other" Society proposed to adopt—a Society strongly based on the memories of the American Revolution—"Why, the '*Continental Dames*,' I suppose!"

¹ To cherish the glory of the Colonies.

"Tell it not in Gath; publish it not in the streets of Askelon!"

It is therefore in the spirit of the motto of your Society that I propose, in response to your invitation to say something about the house in which we are assembled to-day, and the people who lived in it in the long ago, to tell you of some Colonial Dames of a Colonial family who lived in Colonial times in this Colonial Mansion as their summer home. But their Colonialism was taken away from those ladies against their wills. There is *no* necessary and inseparable connection between matters Colonial and Toryism, as many people suppose, but in their hearts those ladies remained loyal to the *status quo ante bellum*, and Colonial Dames to the end of *their* chapter.

Some years ago I amused myself by bringing together and having copied, and to some extent editing, such family letters and diaries of my Colonial Dames as had been preserved, and from that interesting collection I have taken much of what I shall read to you to-day. The papers had been divided in bulk among the different members of the family, without regard to form, subject-matter, or chronological sequence, and it was no light task, I assure you, to arrange them in order, for ladies then, as now, had a way, most perplexing to men, of not always fully dating their letters.

This house, which has been placed in the care and custody of your Society by the Commissioners of Fairmount Park, was built, it is said, in the year 1748, and was owned by one Joseph Shute, from whose estate it was purchased in the year 1760 by Francis Rawle of Philadelphia, jointly with his brother-in-law Joshua Howell, together with the seventy-six acres of land surrounding it extending along the Schuylkill River from the glens dividing the property from the Strawberry Mansion tract on the North East and the Ormiston tract on the South West, and running back to a lane then

called the Wissahickon Road, which communicated with the Ridge Road. The title was taken in Mr. Howell's name, and a few days subsequently he conveyed to Mr. Rawle the South Western portion, thirty-one acres of land with this house upon it, then and for nearly eighty years afterwards known as "Laurel Hill." Mr. Howell retained the remaining forty-five acres of land and there built for himself a country house, to which and its surroundings he gave the name of "Edgely." The latter house remained standing until after its acquisition by the City of Philadelphia for park purposes.

By way of explanation let me state that it was not until the year 1837 that the Cemetery Company was incorporated, which gave the name of Laurel Hill to the tract about one mile above this, now North Laurel Hill Cemetery, and which had at one time been the country seat of Joseph Sims, called "The Laurels." In former days these bluffs along the river were noted for the luxurious growth of the laurel, and hence the name. Central Laurel Hill Cemetery was formerly the country place of George Pepper, and known as "Fairy Hill," while South Laurel Hill Cemetery was at one time the country seat of William Rawle, the son of Francis Rawle just mentioned, and called "Harleigh."

Francis Rawle was born in Philadelphia in 1729. He was an only child whose mother died at his birth, and whose father died when his son was but twelve years of age. He was a well educated, cultured gentleman of ample means, and upon his reaching manhood he made the "Grand Tour" of Europe, travelling extensively and through various countries, as was the custom with those of his station in life whose financial circumstances allowed them to do so. Shortly after his return home he married, in 1756, Rebecca, daughter of Edward Warner, a wealthy and prominent citizen of Philadelphia, who while a member of the Assembly was associated with Isaac Norris, the Speaker, as a committee to obtain the bell for the

State House—that “Liberty Bell” with its wonderfully prophetic legend selected by them:—“Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, unto all the Inhabitants thereof.”

Francis Rawle did not live long to enjoy his beautifully situated country home, for in June, 1761, he was mortally wounded by the accidental discharge of his fowling piece while shooting upon the meadows of another estate of his, situated on the Delaware River at Point-nopoint below Frankford. He left to survive him besides his widow, three young children, all under four years of age—Anna Rawle, who afterwards married John Clifford, William Rawle, and Margaret Rawle, who afterwards became the wife of Isaac Wharton.

By his Will Mr. Rawle left all his property, including “Laurel Hill,” to his widow, and there during the summer months she and her infant children resided. In 1767 she married her first husband’s intimate friend, Samuel Shoemaker, himself a widower with several children—none of whom, however, except his son Benjamin, to be mentioned hereafter, survived the Revolution. Between “Laurel Hill” and Mr. Shoemaker’s own beautiful country seat, “Pomona Terrace,” in Germantown, the united families divided their time in summer.

Mr. Shoemaker was a charming, thoroughbred, well educated and accomplished gentleman, of much culture, fine presence and large means. He was the son of a Member of the Governor’s Council, and held many important offices in Philadelphia under the Royal and Proprietary governments. From 1755 to 1776, the end of Colonial times, he was continually in office, during much of the period holding several offices at the same time. He was a Councilman, Alderman, Assemblyman, City Treasurer, Mayor, Judge of the County Courts, and Justice of the Peace. He and his father between them, in those days of good municipal rule, when if they got good men they kept them, held the office of City Treasurer of Philadelphia without a break for twenty-five years—

from 1751 until the fall of the Proprietary government in 1776.

He was devotedly attached to his step-children, and they to him. Brought up as they had been under his immediate care during the formative period of their minds and characters, they could not but be influenced by the example he set before them and the teachings of the principles up to which he lived. They all by inheritance were members of the Religious Society of Friends. An officer under the Royal Government for such a length of time, and in so many capacities, in the filling of which he had again and again pledged his allegiance to the King, it could scarcely be imagined for an instant that a man of his conscientious principles and integrity would prove false to his liege lord. Nor cou'd the children and their mother but absorb much of the atmosphere of loyalty to the Crown, in which he lived and moved and had his being. Like many others of his class and station in life, he fully appreciated the errors into which those obstinate and misguided men at the head of affairs in Eng'and had fallen, and he joined in the signing of the celebrated Non Importation Agreement of 1765. But when, according to his views, affairs began to go from bad to worse, he held back and stood aloof.

There are many, as I said before, who are inclined to think that there can be no distinction between matters Colonial and Toryism. If I linger awhile with you to-day in the society of my Colonial Dames, do not accuse me of endeavoring to inoculate you with any of their Tory ideas or of attempting to give you a screed of Tory doctrine. But there are two sides to most questions, and in an impartial study of our history one cannot but look behind the curtain which has been drawn around some of the events which occurred here in Philadelphia during the Revolutionary War. It does not do even now, in public, to delve too deeply into the subject, and stir up things which have been allowed to slumber for so many years,

for the people generally will not realize the fact that here—I am confining myself to Philadelphia, for elsewhere the case was different—the majority of the men and women of education, refinement, wealth and high social position, among both Churchmen and Quakers, remained more or less loyal to the Crown—passively so, or apparently neutral, for the most part to be sure—and that they did not “give in their adhesion,” as the expression was, to the new government until its establishment had become an assured fact.

With the young men of the same social circles, however, the spirit of liberty and independence, of military excitement and glory was in the air, and many of them, not only among those who had no religious handicap, but also among the Quakers themselves, joined the Revolutionary colors.

Under the old regime Philadelphia had surpassed all the other cities of America in growth, prosperity and success. It had the best local government of them all. It was the leader in every element of progress, and the equal of any of them in educational development. It was the most advanced of them all in the refinement and social culture of its upper classes. It was the metropolis of the American Colonies. For the practical enjoyment of life, liberty and happiness, of freedom of thought and religious belief, and the security of worldly possessions, Philadelphia had not its equal, far less its superior, elsewhere. And all these things it owed to the liberality and wise forethought vouchsafed by the Charter which King Charles the Second of England had granted to William Penn, and the Constitutional Privileges which Penn had under it granted to its people. Is it to be wondered at, therefore, that so many persons thought that they had everything to lose and nothing to gain by so complete a subversion of affairs?

When in September, 1777, the British Army took possession of Philadelphia, Mr. Shoemaker having twice

previously served as Mayor of the City, and also having been a Judge of the County Courts and a Justice of the Peace, was prevailed upon by General Sir William Howe to take charge of its civil affairs in association with Joseph Galloway, one of the leaders of the Bar. This act rendered them both especially odious to the Whig or Revolutionary party, and was the cause of the grievous sorrow and trouble which soon after came upon "Laurel Hill" and my Colonial Dames, and the consequent sweeping away of the ample means which had once been theirs.

Mr. Galloway was an intimate friend of Mr. Shoemaker. Their country places, "Laurel Hill" and "Ormiston," adjoined each other, and we can picture to ourselves these two old cronies wandering or sitting on the banks of the Schuylkill, or in the glen separating the places, or among these lovely old trees, admiring the beautiful landscape and condoling with each other upon the sad state of affairs which, as they thought, their misguided countrymen had brought to pass.

The members of a united family living together in harmony have but little occasion to record the details of their daily lives, so there is not much preserved relating to "Laurel Hill" and its occupants until the troublous times of the Revolutionary struggle came upon them. During the first years of the Revolution the Rawle-Shoemaker family continued to reside in Philadelphia, spending, as usual, much of their time at "Laurel Hill." Until the occupation of Philadelphia by the British, Mr. Shoemaker had taken practically no part in the struggle. But his association with Mr. Galloway in the Civil Government of the city during its occupation by the British Army in the winter of 1777-78, to which I have referred, brought matters to a crisis, and on March 6, 1778, the State Legislature, then sitting at Lancaster, had declared them and other prominent citizens guilty of high treason and all their estates forfeited to the State, unless they surrendered themselves by the twentieth day of April following. This they did *not* do, and suffered the con-

sequences. On June 17, 1778, a few days before the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British Army, Mr. Shoemaker sailed for New York with the fleet, accompanied by his step-son William Rawle, then a lad of nineteen years of age. The latter went at the urgent request of his mother. Some idea of the discomforts which the unfortunate refugees must have endured in travelling is afforded by a letter of William Rawle to one of his sisters, in which he states that they were two days and nights on board a small sloop on their way down the Delaware River to Reedy Island, near which they found the fleet lying, and thirteen days on the passage from Philadelphia to the Capes.

No sooner had the Revolutionary authorities returned to Philadelphia than they proceeded to carry out the strenuous measures against the Loyalists that the Confiscation Act had provided for. As we learn from the diary of Charles Willson Peale, the artist, who was an ardent patriot and one of the agents for securing and selling the forfeited estates, they immediately after the evacuation set about fulfilling the duties of their offices. They began, he says, with the property of those who were of the *most consideration* among the unfortunates. Mrs. Joseph Galloway, who remained after his departure in the house of her husband, one of the attainted ones, was the first to be visited. When they went there to dispossess her, they found her counsel, Mr. Elias Boudinot, with her. Against her will, and, at first, her physical opposition, Peale succeeded in conducting her to General Arnold's carriage, which was at the door, having been supplied for the occasion. "The same sort of business," he writes, "they were likely to have with Mrs. Shoemaker, but on that occasion Mr. Boudinot agreed to give peaceable possession on the morning following, which terms were accepted by the agents, as they wished to make things as easy as they could with those whose misfortune it was to come within their notice."

The Act provided that after twelve months the real estates of the attainted Tories should be sold. Consequently, all of Mr. Shoemaker's landed property, which was extensive, was on April 12, 1779, ordered to be sold at public sale by the State agents for the confiscated estates, among the rest his delightful home on the north side of Arch (then Mulberry)-Street above Front, one of the finest residences in the city. In their eagerness they likewise seized and sold much of Mrs. Shoemaker's *own* property, as well as that which had come to her from her first husband, Francis Rawle, who had made her the sole devisee of his estate, including "Laurel Hill."

In those days ("unenlightened"—"barbarous"—days you will probably call them), all the property of a married woman, even her spring bonnets and frocks and jewelry, belonged to her husband. Her personal estate upon marriage became his absolutely; her real estate his for his life. The handsome fortune which Mr. Rawle had left to his wife was unfortunately not preserved for his children, and in consequence it was almost entirely swept away by the zealous action of some of the Revolutionary party, all because of the political difficulties which had come upon Mr. Shoemaker.

After the breaking up of the family home communication between those who went to New York and those who remained in Philadelphia became exceedingly difficult. The sending of correspondence through the military lines without permission was prohibited, and much of theirs was seized and destroyed. Notwithstanding this, however, frequent opportunities were taken to elude the authorities. Fictitious names were used and many of the allusions and messages are now unintelligible. There was one method of communication which seems to have been winked at, if not allowed—that of sending the local newspapers from New York to Philadelphia, and from Philadelphia to New York. Advantage was taken of this to convey to each other information of different sorts.

Many numbers of Rivington's "Royal Gazette" which Mr. Shoemaker sent to his wife, with brief messages written on the margins, have been preserved, and are now in the Loganian Library in Philadelphia.

Mrs. Shoemaker was a woman of decided character, strong in her feelings, and apparently of great fluency in expressing what she wished to say, and she was an ardent Loyalist. Women then, as now, were apt to go to extreme lengths in their feelings and expressions in times of great political excitement, and were thus apt sometimes to get themselves into trouble. After her husband and son had been some months in New York Mrs. Shoemaker applied to the State authorities for permission to join them there. This was refused, and refused again in May, 1779, as it would be, they said, "inconsistent with the interest of the State." She was summoned before the Supreme Executive Council in March, 1780, in consequence of the interception of some of her journals, which showed that she had assisted prisoners and other enemies of the Government to pass clandestinely to New York. What was done with her is not recorded in the Minutes of the Council, but when, two months later, she again applied for leave to go to New York and to return in one year, she got more than she asked for, and was told to go and give security that she would not return at *any* time without leave first obtained from the Council. She remained in New York for a year, and returned to Philadelphia, presumably by permission, in April, 1782. There she remained until April, 1783, when she again went to New York, and stayed there until November 7 following, a few days before her husband and their only child, Edward, then a lad in his fourteenth year, sailed for England, just before the evacuation of New York by the British Army.

The correspondence between the separated members of the family, some of which took the form of diaries, is, as I have stated, in part preserved, in manuscript, chiefly that written between the years 1780 and 1786. We can-

at least
they never sto-
any wars!

not read some of it now after the lapse of more than a century of time without smiles of complacency, and indeed even of amusement. Covering as it does a most eventful period of history, and treating of the events of those days from the Loyalist point of view, it is both valuable and interesting. While Mrs. Shoemaker was in New York with her husband the correspondence was chiefly between herself and her two daughters, Anna and Margaret Rawle. There is preserved the complete series of Mrs. Shoemaker's letters to her husband after he had sailed for England in November, 1783, until his return to America in May, 1786, as also a concise diary kept for the entertainment of his wife by Mr. Shoemaker from the day they parted in New York until October, 1785.

Many of the letters treat of business matters, and show the great losses and terrible sufferings which the Loyalists endured; others are in a lighter vein and give us vivid pen-pictures of Philadelphia and New York society of that day. In this correspondence fancy or fictitious names, as was common in social circles during the Revolution, were frequently given to the different members of the family and their friends. Thus William Rawle was known as "Horatio"; Anna Rawle as "Fanny"; Margaret or "Peggy" Rawle as "Adelaide"; and Sally Burge, their intimate friend and subsequently the wife of William Rawle, as "Juliet." In memory of the days of their youth Mr. and Mrs. Rawle accordingly named their two youngest children "Horatio" and "Juliet." But this is anticipating. The scope of this paper and the time at disposal preclude the possibility of giving more than a very few extracts from the letters and diaries.

After the breaking up of the family home, which had been Mr. Shoemaker's house in Arch (then Mulberry) Street, Mrs. Shoemaker, while in Philadelphia, and her daughters lived sometimes with Mrs. Edward Warner; Mrs. Shoemaker's mother, in her house, which was directly

opposite their former home in Arch Street; at other times with Benjamin Shoemaker, who was Samuel Shoemaker's son by his first wife (Hannah, daughter of Samuel Carpenter), and who lived on the South side of High (now Market) Street below Eighth; and also at times in the house adjoining, this last also belonging to Benjamin Shoemaker. Mrs. Benjamin Shoemaker was Elizabeth Warner, the sister of Mrs. Samuel Shoemaker, his step-mother.

In the spring of 1780, as has been mentioned, Mrs. Shoemaker journeyed to New York to visit her husband. Her stepson Benjamin Shoemaker accompanied her as far as the British lines. Her daughter, Anna Rawle, writing to her from Philadelphia under date of June 30, 1780, says:

"By the person who brought thy letter from Rahway I wrote a long one which he promised, if thee should be gone from there, to forward into New York * * * * Peggy and I staid with my Aunt till B[enjamin] returned. Tho' so little in the house belonged to us, packing them up furnished employ for several mornings; one day, when thus engaged up stairs, Polly Birk, [one of the servants] who was the only person with me in the house, exclaimed, 'Bless me if there is not a whole company of soldiers at Mr. S[hoemaker]'s door!' I was frightened, and was going down to my aunt and sister, when at the foot of the stairs I observed a man placed, rattling the lock of his gun, as if trying to alarm. I ran up again, and in a few minutes two men entered the room, and I soon found their business was to search for arms. They looked in the closet, and desired me, not in the mildest terms, to unlock my trunks. I told them they were already undone. They then put their canes in, and by the greatest good luck in the world, the little plate that belonged to me remained undisturbed at the bottom of the trunk; they would have taken it, I am certain, from their behaviour. Not finding

arms they went away. They treated my Aunt in the same manner, rummaging the closets and drawers, and placing a guard at the stairs. One of them said, when Peggy went up, that it was to hide guns. There were but one or two houses where they treated people with so little ceremony. At other places they took their word.

“But of all absurdities the ladies going about for money¹ exceeded everything; they were so extremely importunate that people were obliged to give them something to get rid of them. Mrs. Beech [Bache] and the set with her, came to our door the morning after thee went, and turned back again. The reason she gave to a person who told me was that she did not chuse to face Mrs. S. or her daughters.

“H[annah] Thompson, Mrs. [Robert] Morris, Mrs. [James] Wilson, and a number of very genteel women, paraded about streets in this manner, some carrying ink stands, nor did they let the meanest ale house escape. The gentlemen also were honoured with their visits. Bob Wharton declares he was never so teased in his life. They reminded him of the extreme rudeness of refusing anything to the fair, but he was inexorable and pleaded want of money, and the heavy taxes, so at length they left him, after threatening to hand his name down to posterity with infamy.”

Under date of November 4, 1780, she says: * * *
“Speaking of handsome women brings Nancy Willing to my mind. She might set for the Queen of Beauty, and is lately married to Bingham, who returned from the West Indies with an immense fortune. They have set out in highest style; nobody here will be able to make the figure they do; equipage, house, cloathes, are all the newest taste,—and yet some people wonder at the match. She but sixteen and such a perfect form. His appearance is less amiable.”

¹ See Wm. B. Reed's *Life of Joseph Reed*, vol. ii, p. 260, &c., and 429, &c.

From New York, Mrs. Shoemaker writes to her daughters, January 8, 1781:

"P[eggy] A[rnold] is not so much admired here for her beauty as one might have expected. All allow she has great Sweetness in her countenance, but wants Animation, sprightliness and that fire in her eyes which was so captivating in Capt. L[oyd's] wife. But notwithstanding she does not possess that Life and animation that some do, they have met with every *attention indeed*, much more than they could have promised themselves, and the very genteel appointment which he [General Benedict Arnold] holds in this [the British] Service, joined to a Very large present, (which I am told he has received,) is fully sufficient for every Demand in genteel life." Speaking of Mrs. Arnold again, Mrs. Shoemaker writes that she attended a ball at head quarters in New York, and that "she appeared a star of the first magnitude, and had every attention paid her as if she had been Lady Clinton. Is not this fine encouragement for generals to follow A[rnold's] example?"

The letters contain many similar references to events, and allusions to well known people, and a good deal of gossip too.

The Act of Attainder and Confiscation further provided that the President, or Vice-President, and Supreme Executive Council might rent out forfeited real estates for a time not exceeding two years, paying the taxes and other expenses, and managing them until they should be sold in the manner thereafter directed. As "Laurel Hill," which had belonged to Mrs. Shoemaker's first husband, Francis Rawle, had been left by his will to her, Mr. Shoemaker, as her second husband, had a life estate in the property as "tenant by the curtesy." In their patriotic zeal the people in authority disregarded the principle of law that the sale of such a life estate had no other effect than to free a wife's houses and lands from

all of her husband's estate when he had been attainted for high treason, and to vest the title in her to as full an effect as if he had died. The State agents took possession of "Laurel Hill" before its sale, and apparently allowed the President of the State, General Joseph Reed, to occupy it as a summer residence. Reed was the most ardent and active of the persecutors of the Philadelphia Loyalists. His animosity had been particularly visited upon Mr. and Mrs. Shoemaker and her children, and the letters often refer to him in a manner far from affectionate or complimentary.

Anna Rawle writes to her mother under date of September 20, 1780: "The wife of a certain person can never spend another summer at Laurel Hill. Her pleasure there had a melancholy and short termination. She is dead, and of a disorder that made people whisper about 'that she eat too many of Mr. S. . . 's peaches!' her husband fainted at the grave." The person here referred to was no other than the wife of President Reed himself. She had died in Philadelphia two days previously, September 18th, having shortly before been brought there from "Laurel Hill."

The diary of Miss Anna Rawle (which she kept for the information and entertainment of her mother in New York) gives a very characteristic account of the effect of the arrival in Philadelphia of the news of Lord Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown and the great consternation it created among the Neutrals and Loyalists, between whom the mass of the Revolutionary party could see no difference, for it considered that all who were not with it were against it, and acted accordingly.

"October 22, 1781.—Second day. The first thing I heard this morning was that Lord Cornwallis had surrendered to the French and Americans—intelligence as surprising as vexatious. People who are so stupidly regardless of their own interests are undeserving of compassion, but one cannot help lamenting that the fate of

so many worthy persons should be connected with the failure or success of the British army.

"Uncle Howell¹ came in soon after Breakfast, and tho' he is neither Whig nor Tory, looked as if he had sat up all night; he was glad to see all here so cheerful, he said. When he was gone Ben Shoemaker arrived; he was told it as he came along, and was astonished. However, as there is no letter from Washington, we flatter ourselves that it is not true. * * *

"October 24.—Fourth day. I feel in a most unsettled humour. I can neither read, work or give my attention one moment to anything. It is too true that Cornwallis is taken. Tilghman is just arrived with dispatches from Washington which confirm it. * * *

"October 25.—Fifth Day.—I suppose, dear Mammy, thee would not have imagined this house to be illuminated last night, but it was. A mob surrounded it, broke the shutters and the glass of the windows, and were coming in, none but forlorn women here. We for a time listened for their attacks in fear and trembling till, finding them grow more loud and violent, not knowing what to do, we ran into the yard. Warm Whigs of one side, and Hartley's of the other (who were treated even worse than we), rendered it impossible for us to escape that way. We had not been there many minutes before we were drove back by the sight of two men climbing the fence. We thought the mob were coming in thro' there, but it proved to be Coburn and Bob. Shewell, who called to us not to be frightened, and fixed lights up at the windows, which pacified the mob, and after three huzzas they moved off. A number of men came in afterwards to see us. French and J. B. nailed boards up at the broken pannels, or it would not have been safe to have gone to bed. Coburn and Shewell were really very kind; had it not been

¹ Joshua Howell, who had married Mrs. Samuel Shoemaker's sister Catharine, daughter of Edward and Anna (Coleman) Warner

for them I really believe the house would have been pulled down. Even the firm Uncle Fisher¹ was obliged to submit to have his windows illuminated, for they had pickaxes and iron bars with which they had done considerable injury to his house, and would soon have demolished it had not some of the Hodges and other people got in back and acted as they pleased. All Uncle's sons were out but Sammy,² and if they had been at home it was in vain to oppose them. In short it was the most alarming scene I ever remember. For two hours we had the disagreeable noise of stones banging about, glass crashing, and the tumultuous voices of a large body of men, as they were a long time at the different houses in the neighborhood. At last they were victorious, and it was one general illumination throughout the town. As we had not the pleasure of seeing any of the gentlemen in the house, nor the furniture cut up, and goods stolen, nor been beat, nor pistols pointed at our breasts, we may count our sufferings slight compared to many others. Mr. Gibbs was obliged to make his escape over a fence, and while his wife was endeavouring to shield him from the rage of one of the men, she received a violent bruise in the breast, and a blow in the face which made her nose bleed. Ben. Shoemaker was here this morning; tho' exceedingly threatened he says he came off with the loss of four panes of glass. Some Whig friends put candles in the windows which made his peace with the mob, and they retired. John Drinker³ has lost half the goods out of his shop and been beat by them; in short the sufferings of those they pleased to style Tories would fill a volume and shake the

¹ William Fisher, merchant, who married Mrs. Samuel Shoemaker's aunt, Sarah (Coleman). He, also, lived in Arch Street between Front and Second Streets. He was a member of the Common Council of Philadelphia from 1767 to 1770, of the Board of Aldermen from 1770 to the fall of the Charter government in 1776, and Mayor of the City 1773-1774.

² The late Samuel W. Fisher, President of the Philadelphia Insurance Company, and President of Select Council 1811-1813.

³ See Journal of Elizabeth Drinker, p. 137, for her account of the same episode.

credulity of those who were not here on that memorable night, and to-day Philadelphia makes an uncommon appearance, which ought to cover the Whigs with eternal confusion. A neighbour of ours had the effrontery to tell Mrs. G[alloway] that he was sorry for her furniture, but not for her windows—a ridiculous distinction that many of them make. J. Head has nothing left whole in his parlour. Uncle Penington¹ lost a good deal of window-glass. Aunt Burge² preserved hers thro' the care of some of her neighbors. The Drinkers and Walns make heavy complaints of the Carolinians in their neighbourhood. Walns' pickles were thrown about the streets and barrells of sugar stolen. Grandmammy was the most composed of anybody here. Was I not sure, my dearest Mother, that you would have very exaggerated accounts of this affair from others, and would probably be uneasy for the fate of our friends, I would be entirely silent about it, but as you will hear it from some one or another, not mentioning it will seem as if we had suffered exceedingly, and I hope I may depend on the safety of this opportunity.

“People did nothing to-day but condole and enquire into each others honourable losses. * * *

“October 26.—Sixth day.—Neighbor Waln and Ben. Shoemaker were here in the afternoon. Juliet, Polly Foulke and James Fisher came to see us in the evening; the conversation as usual on the late disturbances. It seems universally agreed that Philadelphia will no longer be that happy asylum for the Quakers that it once was. Those joyful days when all was prosperity and peace are gone, never to return; and perhaps it is as necessary for our society³ to ask for terms as it was for Cornwallis.

¹ Edward Penington, who had married Sarah, the sister of Samuel Shoemaker.

² Beulah Burge, a sister of Samuel Shoemaker, widow of Samuel Burge. Their daughter Sarah married, in 1783, William Rawle, the elder, who was a brother of the diarist.

³ The Quakers.

Juliet says all Uncle Penington's fine pictures are broken; his parlour was full of men, but it was nothing, he said, to Nancy's illness, who was for an hour or two out of her senses and terrified them exceedingly."

It was not until February 20, 1782, that Mr. Shoemaker's life estate in "Laurel Hill" was sold by the State agents, and on March 20, the Patent therefor was executed by the President of the Supreme Executive Council, William Moore, to Major James Parr, the purchaser, in consideration of £5,000 Pennsylvania money. Parr was an extensive investor in the confiscated estates. Before, however, the title had been actually conveyed to him, Major Parr, on February 26, 1782, in consideration of £500, gold or silver money, had leased the place to "His Excellency, the Chevalier de Luzerne, Minister of France" to the United States, for the term of five years thence ensuing, "if the said Shoemaker should so long live." In her diary Mrs. Shoemaker, then in New York, pathetically writes, February 4, 1782: "I see [from the newspapers that] our last little spot, poor 'Laurel Hill,' is to have another possessor. We cannot see any more advertised; they have sold all." And her daughter Anna, writing to her two days later, says: "The P[resident] has not given up his town house, as my dear Mother imagined; he still keeps it, the wife of his successor being one of those simple hearted women who chuse to live in nobody's house but their own. I must confess that I am not sorry that 'Laurel Hill' is to have another master; he never was a favourite of mine. They say he pays his addresses to Belle White. I shall think the girl out of her senses if she has him."

The Chevalier of course had his French cook, and the French cook his truffle-dog, which, in the pursuit of his vocation in life, is said to have discovered truffles in the grounds around the house, much to the astonishment and delight of his master—one of the few instances, and it is believed the first, of the finding in this country of that

delicious article in its natural state. Mr. Hazard, in his third volume of *Watson's Annals*, quotes this family tradition; but, as has been suggested, whether the tradition is truthful or not, or whether the absence or scarcity of truffles in America is to be attributed to the shortcomings of the comparatively few enterprising French cooks who bless us with their presence, or to the absence of truffle-dogs, has not been ascertained.

When the fanaticism against the Loyalists had somewhat abated after the Peace, the civil authorities seem to have come to view in the proper legal light the matter of the sale of Mrs. Shoemaker's property in consequence of the attainder of her husband. The learned in the legal profession gave it as their opinion that the only effect of the sale was to vest the title to the property in her clear of any of her husband's rights therein. Some years subsequently this principle was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania when a similar question arose concerning the estate of Mrs. Joseph Galloway.

Major Parr also seems to have appreciated the doubtful element in his title, and to have been not unwilling to consider proposals from the family for a surrender of his interest in the place. But the lease to Luzerne apparently complicated the matter. "Major Parr," as Mrs. Shoemaker wrote from Philadelphia to her husband on January 14, 1784, "has offered Laurel Hill for £400—but that is certainly too much, as the minister has three years yet to come, and I believe is so well pleased with it that he does not wish to part with it."

The enjoyment of "Laurel Hill" by His Excellency was not, however, to continue the full length of his lease. The failure of his government to appropriate the means for the support of his office, it has been said, caused him to contemplate a return to his own country. A satisfactory arrangement of the matter of the lease was eventually arrived at, and Parr, in consideration of £300, silver money, on February 27, 1784, by endorsement

upon his Patent, conveyed to William Rawle all his estate and interest in "Laurel Hill," irrespective of the remainder of the Chevalier's term. (I may here state that William Rawle had returned home in January, 1783, after having spent nineteen months in Europe, studying law in the Middle Temple in London and travelling on the Continent.)

"I believe I mentioned," wrote Mrs. Shoemaker on May 12, 1784, "that the Minister of France was going home soon; it is fixed for next month, and I have had a specimen of French generosity in an Ambassador bargaining with the owner of a little country house for the remainder of a lease. Nothing less than the rent he gave will do, and I must agree to that or not have it. I suppose he will think he has been extremely liberal and genteel in agreeing to be paid yearly as rent, and not insisting upon the money down as he paid it. He keeps possession until the 10th of June."

On June 16, 1784, she again wrote: "Benjamin, William and myself took a ride last week to Laurel Hill, the first time I had been there since the year 1779. I am now tenant to the Minister and have engaged to pay him the yearly rent of £100 per an. for the remainder of his lease, almost three years to come. * * * * Thee expected the Minister would have been so generous and liberal, if he was made acquainted with the real circumstances of it, as to restore it. A[nthony] Benezet who was intimate with him was the person who called on W[illiam] R[awle] and told him that the Minister was going home and desired to see some of the family. William went there twice with Anthony, and as he, William, speaks French, gave him the fullest information respecting it. He said he had several applications for the place, but he chose to offer it to the family, and I am to consider myself favoured in having it upon rent instead of paying the money down. I myself had a good deal of conversation with A[nthony] B[enezet] about it. I told him how con-

trary this was from the language they spoke when they first came here, of the bad policy and illiberality of the Americans to sell estates; that their court would not have done so, but now I found it was all talk. Poor A[nthony] could not say much but that his countrymen did not love to part with their money for nothing, and he must own it was inconsistent from their sentiments; he was very partial to his own Nation."

While in New York Mr. Shoemaker did much to alleviate the miseries of the prisoners in the hands of the British and in obtaining the release of many of them. Charles Biddle in his autobiography mentions the kindnesses which he himself experienced at his hands. After he went to England, where, chiefly in London, he spent two years and a half, Mr. Shoemaker and his home seem to have been the centres of attraction for those of his countrymen who took advantage of the restoration of peace to visit that country. He was closely thrown also with many of those of his own political faith, who, like himself, were refugees from their native land. Men of refinement, of culture, and of education, there mingled with officers of high rank and other persons of prominence whom they had met in America. Among Mr. Shoemaker's valued friends was Benjamin West, the Artist. It is related that West when a plain country boy living near Philadelphia had inspired Mr. Shoemaker with much interest in the evidences of his artistic talent and that the first painted picture that West ever saw had been shown to him by Mr. Shoemaker. He and other affluent citizens of cultured tastes had encouraged West in his early crude efforts at painting, and by concerted action made it possible for him to go to study in Europe. While Mr. Shoemaker was on a visit to West at Windsor an interview took place between the King and himself in the presence of the Queen and the Royal Princesses. He gives a full account of it in his diary:—

"First Day, Octo'r 10, 1784. This morning at 8 'Clock

thy son accompanied B. West's wife to the King's Chappel where he had the opportunity of seeing the King and several of the Princesses. They returned before 9 when we were entertained with breakfast, at which we had the Company of Mr. Pogy the Italian Gent'n, Mr. Trumble, Mr. Farrington, and West's two sons. About 10 thy son accompanied Farrington, Trumble, and West's eldest son in a Ride through Windsor Forrest, having first been with West and I to his Room in the Castle to see a picture of the Lord's Supper which he had just finish'd for the King's Chappel. After part of our Company were gone to take their Ride, West informed me that the King had order'd him to attend at his Painting Room in the Castle at one 'Clock, when the King and Queen and some of the Princesses, on their return from Chappel, intended to call to see the Painting of the Lord's Supper which he had just finished, and West told me it would be a very proper time and Opportunity for me to see the King, Queen, and the rest of the family, as they came from the Chappel, and therefore requested me to accompany him and his Wife, and walk at the Castle near the Chappel, till service was over, when he must repair to his room to attend the King, and would leave me with his Wife in a proper Station to have a full view of the King and family.

"Accordingly, a little before one O'Clock, West and his Wife and I, walk'd up to the Castle and there contin'd walking about till the Clock struck One, when we observ'd one of the Pages coming from the Chappel. West then said he must leave us; presently after this two Coaches pass'd and went round towards the Door of the Castle leading to West's Room. In these two coaches were the Queen and Princesses; presently after the King appear'd, attended by his Equery only, and walk'd in great haste, *almost ran* to meet the Coaches at the door of the Castle above mentioned, which he reach'd just as the Coaches got there, as did West's Wife, and I, when we saw the King go to the Door of the Coach in which the Queen

was, and heard him say, '*I have got here in time,*' and then handed the Queen out, and up the Steps, into the Castle—the Princess Royal, Princess Elizabeth, Princess Mary, and Princess Sophia, with Col. Goldsworthy, the Kings Equery, the Hanoverian Resident, and Miss Goldsworthy, sub-Governess to the two young Princesses, followed. They all went into the Castle, when I hear'd the King say, 'tell him to come in,' *but little did I think I was the Person meant*, and West's Wife and I were about going off, when West came out of the Castle and told me the King had order'd him to come out and bring me and Mrs. West in. I was quite unprepar'd for this; however, it was now too late to avoid it. West and his Wife and I went into the Castle and were ushered up to the Room where the King and Royal family were, and there introduc'd. *Flattered and embarrassed thou may suppose*, on my entering the Room, the King came up close to me, and very graciously said 'Mr. S. you are well known here, every body knows you,' &c. (complimentary w^{ch} I can't mention). He then turned to the Queen, the Princesses, &c., who stood close by, and repeated, 'Mr. S.' I then made my bow to the Queen, then to the Princess Royal, to the Princess Eliza., Princesses Mary and Sophia. The Queen and each of the Princesses were pleased to drop a Curtesy, and then the Queen was pleased to ask me one or two Questions; the King and Queen and the four Princesses, the Hanoverian Resident, Col. Goldsworthy, Miss Goldsworthy, West and his Wife and I were all that were in the Room. The King condescended to ask me many questions, and repeated my answers to them to the Queen and to the Hanoverian Resident, and when to the latter, I observ'd he spoke it in German, which I understood. Among other Questions, the King was pleased to ask me the reason why the Province of Pennsylvania was so much further advanc'd in improvement than the neighbouring ones, some of which had been settled so many years earlier. I told his Majesty (thinking it w'd

be a kind of Compliment to the Queen's Countrymen) that I thought it might be attributed to the Germans, great numbers of whom had gone over in the early part of the settlement of that Province, as well as since. The King smiled and said, 'it may be so, Mr. S., it may in some measure be owing to that, *but I will tell you the true cause*,—the great improvement and flourishing State of Pennsylvania is principally owing to the QUAKERS' (this was a full return for my compliment to the Queen's Countrymen) for whom I observe the King has a great regard. Finding the king so repeatedly mention'd what I said to the Hanov'n Resident and to the Queen, *in German*, on the King's asking me a particular question, I took the liberty to answer in German, at which the King seemed pleased, and *with a smile*, turned to the Queen and said, 'Mr. S. speaks German,' and also mentioned it to the Hanoverian Resident, after which the King was pleased to speak to me several times in German. Then the Queen condescended to ask me several Questions, one of the last, *whether I had a family*. On my telling her that I was once bless'd with a numerous family, but that it had pleased Providence to remove them all from me, *except a Wife and two Sons*, this *visibly* touched the Queen's delicate feelings, so much that she shed some Tears, at which I was *greatly* affected. She is a charming woman, and if not a Beauty, her manners and disposition are so pleasing that no Person who has the Opportunity that I have had can avoid being charm'd with the sweetness of her disposition. The Princess Royal is pretty, has a charming Countenance Indeed; the Princess Elizabeth very agreeable, but rather too fat or bulky for her height. Mary and Sophia are pretty, but being so young their looks will alter.

"After being graciously indulged with the opportunity of conversing with the King and Queen, and being in the Room with them three-quarters of an hour, they all departed and went to the Queen's House.

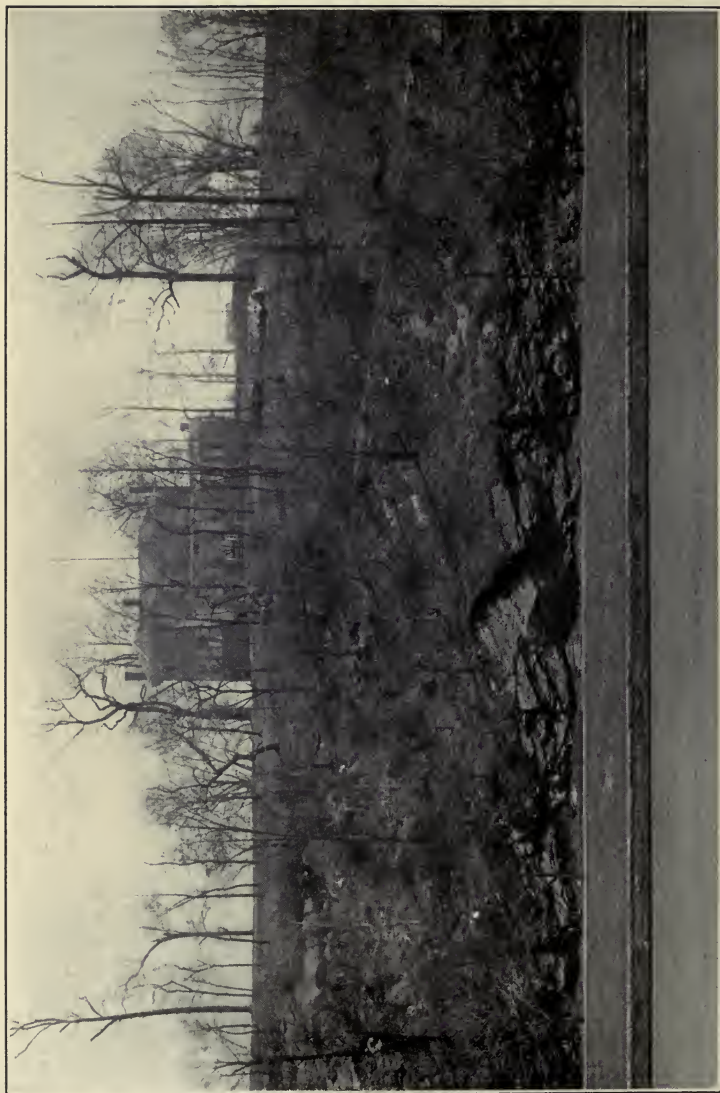
"I cannot say, but I wished some of my violent Countrymen could have such an opportunity as I have had. I think they would be convinced that George the third has not one grain of Tyranny in his Composition, and that he is not, he *cannot* be that bloody minded man they have so repeatedly and so illiberally called him. It is impossible; a man of his fine feelings, so good a husband, so kind a Father, *cannot be a Tyrant.*"

As the animosities engendered by the War had subsided to a considerable extent, Shoemaker and his son Edward sailed homeward from England on April 21, 1786, and arrived in New York on May 27th. They at once went to Burlington, New Jersey, where Mrs. Shoemaker met them. There they resided for a while and then moved to Philadelphia, where, and at "Laurel Hill," they lived happily in peace and quietness. During his later years Mr. Shoemaker's means had become much straitened by reason of the losses he had suffered owing to his loyalty to the King, but these were in a measure recouped by the compensation voted to him by the British Parliament. He seems to have made a favorable impression upon the King, for in 1787, "as a token of the high respect His Majesty had for his character," to use the words of the letter accompanying it, Mr. Shoemaker, after his return to America, received from him a copy of a very scarce engraving by Sir Robert Strange of West's painting of the "Apotheosis of the King's Children Octavius and Alfred," which is now in the possession of Mr. Shoemaker's descendants in Baltimore.

Mr. Shoemaker died in Philadelphia on October 10, 1800, "In the seventy-sixth year of his age, after a short illness, which he bore with Christian and manly fortitude. Samuel Shoemaker, Esquire," as a published obituary notice of him continues, "was highly respected by all who had the advantage of cultivating his acquaintance, not only on account of his private virtues, but of his unshaken integrity and firmness in the arduous administration of

various public duties, to which he was called, in the most critical times, by the approving voice of his Countrymen, to exercise his great talents, on the most important occasions; in particular, before the late revolution, he executed the office of Mayor of Philadelphia, in a manner which reflected reputation upon his character, and dignity on those who appointed him to fill that honorable station. During the existence of the revolutionary war, he was continued the first Magistrate of the Police of Philadelphia, by an appointment from the King of Great Britain, to whom he never forfeited his fidelity; but, in the execution of his offices he proved that Loyalty to his Sovereign was not incompatible with acts of friendship, civility and kindness to the inhabitants of his native city; for the truth of this we can appeal to the memory of numbers yet living who received marks of his attention:—they will not fail to acknowledge it, when their memory awakens to the recollection of the services he rendered them, abstracted from that spirit of envy, which the fervor of political opposition too often engenders. Few have distinguished themselves more than he has done in private life, by an affable, courteous and obliging behavior to all his neighbors, and none have sustained with greater propriety in their families the amiable character of an affectionate husband, father and friend.”

Mrs. Shoemaker survived her second husband nineteen years, surrounded by her devoted children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. She died at her home, in Sansom below Eighth Street, Philadelphia, on December 21, 1819. A writer of an obituary notice of her, published in one of the Philadelphia journals of the time, wrote:—“The grave ought not to close over the remains of this excellent and admirable woman without some public memorial of her life and character. A life which, protracted beyond the usual term allotted to our species, and passed amid trials and vicissitudes of no ordinary nature, was marked by the exercise of every virtue, and



LAUREL HILL

NOW KNOWN AS

THE RANDOLPH MANSION, EAST FAIRMOUNT PARK, PHILADELPHIA

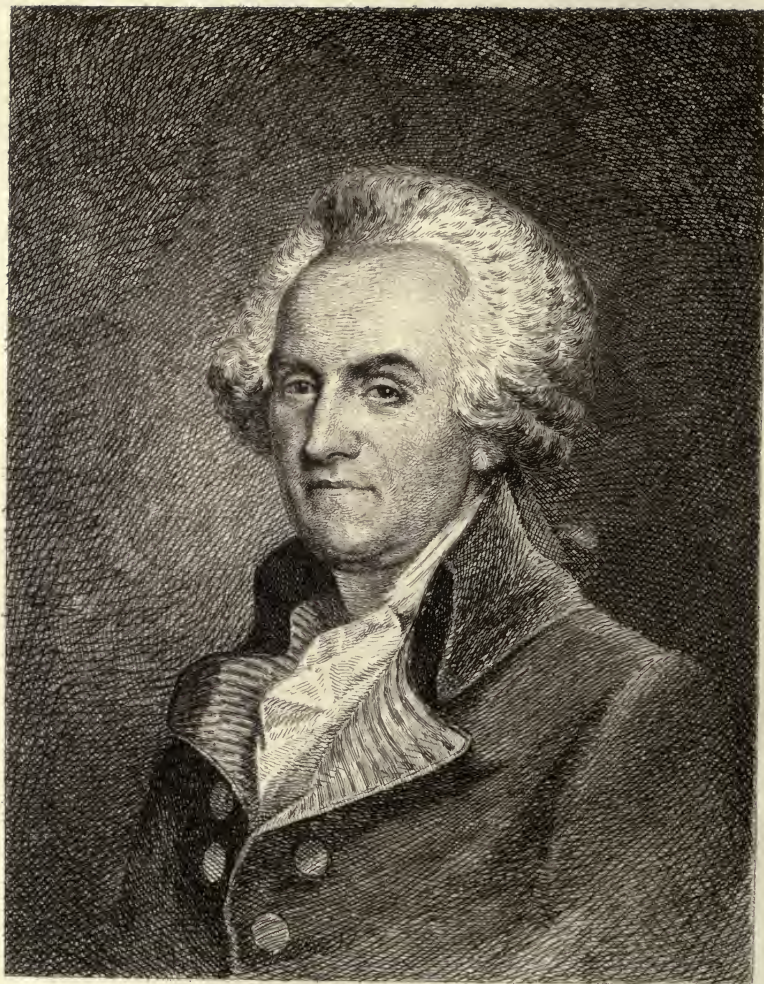
VIEW TAKEN ACROSS THE SCHUYLKILL RIVER FROM THE WEST BANK

a character as entirely faultless, so free from even the trivial blemishes of human nature, that to know her, and not to love and respect her, was impossible. It is seldom indeed that such a mind and such a heart have been joined in any individual, and still more rarely has Providence permitted them to continue unimpaired to such an age. The intellectual faculties of Mrs. Shoemaker were in every stage of her life remarkable. Her understanding, originally clear and powerful, was improved by a thorough acquaintance with books and mankind. She had read and observed much; her memory was uncommonly retentive, and never perhaps was any mind less clouded by prejudice. These circumstances, with a native grace of manner, rendered her conversation unusually attractive to the last moment of her existence. Over her warm and generous heart too, age had stolen with light and printless feet. Nothing of the selfishness, nothing of the moroseness, none of the gloom, which often accompany advanced years, existed in her. The moral sensibility which time (happily perhaps for mankind) almost always deadens, was in her undiminished and unaltered. The interest she felt for her numerous descendants (of whom she lived to see the third generation), was deep, tender and anxious, and it was requited by those who were the objects of it, with all that 'honour, love and obedience' of which the great poet speaks as the dues and accompaniments of old age. To this imperfect sketch of the character of one so truly lamented, it may be added, that she was sincerely and unaffectedly pious, and without the slightest taint of bigotry or austerity."

In the letters and diaries to which I have referred the writers make frequent mention of the beautiful aspect of "Laurel Hill," their much loved country home; of the charming meadow along the river, which has now disappeared; of the many beautiful trees, some of them of great size; of the fine apples, peaches, cherries, and straw-

berries. But beautiful and charming as it still is, a great change from those days has come over the lovely scenery of this part of the "Hidden River," as the Indians called it of old. The building of the dam at Fairmount, which was completed in July, 1821, stopped the ebb and flow of the tide which had extended up as far as the Falls of the Schuylkill. As a result the country places along its banks became so unhealthy that their owners could live in them no longer. In 1828 William Rawle, as Trustee under his Mother's will, sold Laurel Hill and its surrounding acres to Dr. Philip Syng Physick, the celebrated surgeon, from whom the place passed to his descendants the Randolphins, and was sold by them in 1869 to the City for park purposes.

I have not been able to learn much about its intervening history. I fancy that there is little to relate. For some years this house was occupied by the Quoit Club, a mildly athletic association of our fathers and grandfathers, who found the exercise of pitching quoits such a thirst creating one as to require them to indulge in a plentiful consumption of the fluids with which they stocked the house, and this they did with much conviviality. After them came a series of equally thirsty Germans, who used the place as a beer garden and mitigated their sufferings in a similar manner. Hereafter, I trust that under your fair auspices and hospitality "the cup which cheers but does *not* inebriate" will ever be at hand, as it was with those ladies to whom I have introduced you to-day, to welcome you and your friends within these walls. May I express the hope that in the long time to come this little country home, now yours, will be cherished and cared for by your Society, and that once in a while your thoughts will go back to the Colonial Dames of old who lived here and endured and suffered so much in the cause which, to *their* cost, but to *our* and *our country's* infinite gain, proved *not* to be the right one, in the stirring and eventful days of the American Revolution.



WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

Nat. 1730 - Ob. 1813.

Governor of New Jersey 1762-1776.

From the original painting in the Philadelphia Library.

LETTERS FROM WILLIAM FRANKLIN TO
WILLIAM STRAHAN.

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY CHARLES HENRY HART.

The following letters were copied several years ago from the originals that belonged to J. Pearson & Co., of London, England, but which since have been distributed among different autograph collections, many of them being in this country, and the first one is in the possession of the editor. They are of considerable interest from the writer's personal and political position, which is intensified by the recent answer given to the old historical query "Who Was the Mother of Franklin's Son." William Franklin, the writer of these letters, was the son of Benjamin and Deborah Franklin² and was born *circa* September 1, 1730, and died in England, November 17, 1813. During the French war, he became a captain in the Pennsylvania forces and gained praise for his conduct at Ticonderoga. He was comptroller of the Post Office for two years of his father's administration as Postmaster General, and in 1757 accompanied his father to London, where he read law and was admitted to the bar. A very interesting letter from William Franklin, of this period, came to light at the sale in Boston, on June 21, 1911, of the autograph collection of Miss Mary B. Hathaway, of New Bedford, Mass. The auctioneers' catalogue says "it is mainly a love letter to his dear Betsey (Miss Graeme), afterward his wife." This note was so curious, as Elizabeth Graeme did not become his wife, but, long after this letter, married Hugh Henry Ferguson, while William Franklin, as we shall see, married Miss Downes, whose name also was "Betsey," that I endeavored to obtain

¹ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. xxxv. p. 308.² *Id.*, p. 314.

the source of the information given in the note and how the name of Elizabeth Graeme was suggested as the "Betsey" of the letter; but the letter is without superscription, and unfortunately no one could or would give me the desired information. It certainly was not written to his future wife, in England, but it might very well have been written, as suggested in the catalogue, and doubtless for some good reason, to the famous Philadelphia belle and wit and poetess, "that Cat Bess'e Ferguson" of *Hugh Wynne*, who at the date of the letter was in her eighteenth year. Dr. Benjamin Rush, who was on terms of familiar intimacy at Graeme Hall, writes: "About her seventeenth year she was addressed by a citizen of Philadelphia of respectable connections and character. She gave him her heart with the promise of her hand upon his return from London, whither he went to complete his education in the law. From causes which it is not necessary to detail, the contract of marriage, at a future day was broken, but not without much suffering on the part of Miss Graeme."³ Another one of her biographers says: "At the age of sixteen Mrs. Ferguson's wit and beauty made her a favorite. To divert her mind from a *personal disappointment* she became a writer of poems, etc." Is not this letter then the key to unlock this eighteenth century romance, and was not William Franklin the "citizen of Philadelphia" who went to London "to complete his education in the law," and his marriage to Elizabeth Downes the "personal disappointment" to Elizabeth Graeme?⁴ Certainly the circumstances fit to a turn and it is a very curious and interesting discovery. What may be a mere coincidence in this

³Hazard's Register, Vol. 3, p. 394, from the Port Folio.

⁴Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson was born in Philadelphia, February 3, 1739, and died at Graeme Park, Montgomery County, Penna., February 23, 1801. Her father was Dr. Thomas Graeme, who was a physician and one of the Provincial Councillors of Penna., and her mother was the step-daughter of Sir William Keith, colonial governor of Penna., with whom Dr. Graeme had come over from Scotland.

connection is that soon after the Governor of New Jersey returned to America "Betsey" Graeme went abroad for her health, with the Rev. Richard Peters, which confirms the "suffering," on her part, mentioned by Dr. Rush. The letter, I am glad to be able to preserve.

[N. B. An eleventh hour inspection of the original manuscript shows it is addressed, at the foot of the first page, "*To Miss Graeme.*" Therefore, William Franklin, "Thou art the man."]

NEW YORK, Monday, April 11, 1757

MY DEAR BETSY

Never did any one set down to write in a worse humour. A thousand things have I to say to you, and scarce a minute to say them in. My Father is now impatiently waiting for me to assist him in an Affair that cannot be postpon'd.—Had I followed the dictates of my own inclinations, I should have pass'd the last evening in pouring out my Soul to you on paper, instead of murdering my time in a large mix'd company of both sexes; where tho' the Heighth of good Sense and Politeness prevail'd, they could not divert my thoughts from a certain little corner in a certain little room, with all its long train of soft attendant ideas.—However, I must stop my Imagination in its Career, or I shall not have time to tell you, that we did not arrive in this city till Friday morning;—That we found Lord Loudoun⁵ had not wrote a single Letter to go by the Pacquet, but he told my Father he did not intend to write much by the One we proposed to sail in, and should therefore dispatch her soon;—That notwithstanding what my Lord has said, those about his Lordship think he will hardly have his dispatches ready this 8 or 10 days;—That there are several Gentlemen who talk of going Passengers with us, but I have seen only one of them whose name is

⁵John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun (1705-1782), was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in North America, in 1758, but was superseded in 1758 by Lord Amherst.

Temple,⁶ a young Gentleman, born in Boston, lately Naval Officer here, and reckon'd po ite and sensible. Another is a son of General Abercrombie's,⁷ who by frequent exercising his Talent for Mimickry, particularly the Consumptive cough of Mr. Duncan, has so impaired his Lungs as to reduce himself to the last Stage of Consumption. The others are a gent'n from Rhode Island, and a young Irish Beau now at Phila'a, of whom I know nothing about;—That the Captain of our Pacquet is so extremely ill with a Consumption that it is thought we shall be oblig'd to throw him over Board before we are a Fort-night at sea. I paid him a visit at his lodgings, found him very peevish and fretful, and tho' launching into Eternity scarce a Word escap'd him unattended by an oath.—

The Reading of your dear Letter, which I have done over and over, is the only Pleasure I have enjoyed since my Departure. Pray let me not be a Post without having one from you. The many disagreeable sensations I have felt by delaying to write to you till it was almost too late, will 'tis to be hope'd cure me of the Crime of Procrastination; and may it prove a Warning to my Betsy.

Let me be remembered to our dear Mamma and other friends is all that can be added at present by

Your ever faithful

W. FRANKLIN.

In Scotland he became acquainted with the Earl of Bute, doubtless through his father's friend and his future

⁶Sir John Temple (1730-1798) was a native of Boston and married, in 1767, Elizabeth, daughter of Governor James Bowdoin, and subsequently inherited his title through his great-grandfather from a great-uncle. He was Commissioner of the Royal Navy in the Colonies, Lieut-Governor of New Hampshire, and Consul General from England for the Eastern states. Some of his descendants have taken the name of Bowdoin.

⁷James Abercrombie, son of General James Abercrombie who commanded the British Army in America between the departure of Loudon and the arrival of Amherst, died in Boston, June 24, 1775, from a wound received at Bunker Hill, where he led the Grenadiers.

correspondent, William Strahan, who recommended him to Lord Halifax⁸, "the Father of the Colonies," as he was styled for his success in extending American commerce, who, as Secretary of State, appointed him in August, 1762, after a severe personal examination, Governor of New Jersey. A few months earlier, April 30, 1762, Oxford University had conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts at the same time as the degree of D. C. L. was given to his father. While in London he was married, September 4, 1762, to Elizabeth Downes⁹ and took his bride to his new colony in America, reaching Philadelphia February 19, 1763, and arriving at Perth Amboy, the seat of government in New Jersey, six days later.

His appointment was not received with approbation in the colony owing to his "time serving conduct and courtierlike propensities, as he had been a Whig but became a Tory on being made Governor." In the revolutionary contest he took sides against his father, being a pronounced Loyalist, was placed under arrest at Perth Amboy and subsequently for disloyal conduct was removed to East Winsor, Conn., where he was strictly guarded for two years, until he was exchanged, November 1, 1778, for John McKinley, late President of Delaware. He repaired to New York, where he remained until September 18, 1782, when he sailed for England, where he continued to reside. Whitehead says¹⁰: "After leaving America he married again;" but I have been unable to verify the fact. The English government granted him £1800 in remuneration of his losses and a pension of £800 per annum. His conduct of course led to an estrangement with his father, but, in 1784, they became reconciled, and

⁸Either through erroneous transcribing or careless proof-reading this name in almost all accounts of William Franklin, is given as "Fairfax." But there was no Lord Fairfax in England at the time mentioned, Thomas, sixth Baron Fairfax (1691-1782), the friend of Washington, being then on his 5,000,000 acre estate in Virginia.

⁹*Vide* letter of this date *infra*.

¹⁰Contributions to East Jersey History, p. 202.

Franklin devised to him land in Nova Scotia, saying in his will "The part he acted against me in the late war, which is of public notoriety, will account for my leaving him no more of an estate he endeavored to deprive me of." In Benjamin West's picture of "The Reception of the American Loyalists by Great Britain in the Year 1783," William Franklin is introduced as "one of the prominent personages at the head of the group of figures."¹¹

William Franklin's son, William Temple Franklin, was Secretary to his grandfather during Doctor Franklin's residence in France, representing the United States, and died there, May 25, 1823. The portrait of Governor Franklin, that illustrates this article, is doubtless from the portrait by Benjamin Wilson, mentioned in several of the letters to Strahan, and we are indebted for its use to the courtesy of the etcher, Mr. Albert Rosenthal.

William Strahan to whom the letters of Franklin were written, was an eminent printer and publicist, born in Scotland in April, 1715, where he was brought up to the composing stick. After his apprenticeship he went to London, where his ability soon raised him to prominence, so that in 1770 he was enabled to purchase a share of the patent for King's printer. He was the publisher and intimate friend of most of the prominent writers of his time, including Hume, Gibbon, Adam Smith, William Robertson and Blackstone, and for years acted as banker to Doctor Johnson. Johnson, who was noted for his parsimony, would get Strahan, when in parliament, to frank his letters, saying, "When I write to Scotland, I employ Strahan to frank my letters that he may have consequence of appearing a parliament man among his countrymen." Letter writing was one of Strahan's

¹¹ Whitehead's Contributions to East Jersey History, 1856, p. 202. This picture is also described from an engraving by Henry Moses, in Sabine's American Loyalists, 1847, p. 527, and is reproduced in Wilson's History of New York, 1892, Vol. 2, p. 574, yet no trace of the original painting or of an impression of the engraving by Moses can be found. Perhaps this note may be more successful and reveal one or both.

favorite occupations¹² and his correspondence with Doctor Franklin began as early as 1744, although the two did not meet personally until thirteen years later, at the house of Peter Collinson, and their friendship continued through life. It was to Strahan that Franklin wrote his famous letter of "July 5, 1775," ending "You are my Enemy and I am yours B. Franklin," which has been looked upon generally as a serious break between the two friends, meaning exactly what it said; but it seems to have been nothing more than one of Poor Richard's jokes, as is shown by the continued friendly relations of the two men and their uninterrupted correspondence, which lasted until death of Strahan, July 9, 1785.

DEAR STRAHAN

Your friend is this moment arrived at the land of matrimony and, (to continue the seamans phraze) hopes to get safe into harbor this night. I know you and good Mrs. Strahan will sympathize with Mrs Franklin, (for so I am now so happy as to call her) and me in the unbounded joy this long wished for event occasions. If you mention it in this evening's Chronicle don't stile me Excellency, as I think it not quite so proper as I have not yet kissed hands, being prevented yesterday by the Cambridge address. I am to do it for certain on Wednesday. Suppose it was mentioned something in the following manner. "This morning was married at St. George's Church, Hanover Square, William Franklin Esq., the new appointed Governor of New Jersey, to Miss Elzth Downes¹³ of St James Street."

¹² *Vide* Letters from William Strahan to David Hall in Boogher's Repository, Vol. 1, p. 117, and PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, Vols. x, xi, xii, xiii.

¹³ The wife of Governor Franklin died in New York on July 28, 1778, in her forty-ninth year, and was buried in the chancel of St. Paul's Church, where a decade later her husband placed a tablet to her memory with a laudatory inscription beneath the Franklin arms. At the time of her demise he was a prisoner under guard in Connecticut, and the Congress refused him permission to go to New York to see her.

I can only add our compliments to you all and our hopes that we shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you and Mrs. S. in St James Street.

I am

Yours affectionately

Saturday

W. FRANKLIN

Sept. 4. 1762.

PLYMOUTH Dec^r 14, 1762

DEAR SIR

By some mistake or other, either in my Servant or the Keeper of the Post Office, your Letter was here several Days before I had the Pleasure of receiving it.—M^r Franklin & myself return you our warmest Thanks & good Wishes for the kind Part you take in our Welfare. She is, thank God, perfectly recover'd from her Fright & Fatigue & her Sea Sickness has I believe been of considerable Service to her, as I never saw her look so hearty & well before. Tho' our late disagreeable Cruise, as I may call it, has made a stormy Impression on her mind, yet it has not so dishearten'd her but that she is willing to make another Attempt. If this seems more successful 'tis not at all improbable but that I may one time or another be able to persuade her to pay you a Visit some fine Evening, to take Revenge for the last Drubbing you & M^r Hughes gave us at Cribbage.

I am oblig'd to you for delivering my Letter to Winterbottom, & hope it won't be long before he recovers the Money.—When you obtain the King's Picture, M^r F. desires you will be so good as to call on M^r Wilson in Queen Street for a Picture he drew of me and presented to her, & have it pack'd up in the same Case in order to be shipp'd to America.—

It affords me great Pleasure to find that the present Ministry are like to stand their ground, notwithstanding all the unreasonable Opposition they have encounter'd. The Preliminaries are such as give us a Prospect of a

more lasting Peace than any we have yet experienc'd. What must have prov'd a continual Source of quarrels, the Proximity of the Engl. French, & Spanish Possessions in North America, is now happily remov'd. And if a proper use be made of our Dominion there, more extensive & more permanent Advantages will arise to this Nation, than could ever have ensu'd from the Retention of our other Conquests. These are, indeed, more seemingly brilliant, but are intrinsically of far less Value.

The Damage that was done to our Man of War might have been repair'd in 3 or 4 days, had our Commadore been a Man of more Spirit & Activity. We have lost a deal of fine Weather & favourable Winds. However he appears determin'd to sail To-morrow Morning; so that we are now very busy in sending every Thing on Board. But the Captains of the Merchant Ships seem concern'd about going, for, they say, as it is the latter End of an Easterly Wind, we may reasonably expect in the Change the same boisterous Weather we met with before, & are therefore inclin'd to stay till the Wind should come about & blow some Time Westerly, & then take the first of the next Easterly Wind; otherwise they say we may probably be driven back again. Let it be as it will, we must now take our Chance, which I do with the more Confidence, as I know I am in the way of my duty, & have reason to expect the Prayers of many good Friends whom I leave behind.—

I only wrote you one Letter before I left Portsmouth, as I postpon'd writing another till I should have an Opportunity of making a Will to leave behind me, under your Care. In this I was prevented by one means or another till my Arrival here, when I wrote what I now enclose, which I must beg you to keep seal'd up as it is till you know what is the Fate of my present Voyage. If you hear of my safe Arrival in America, please to send it to me by one of the first Ships to N. York or Philadelphia. But if the reverse should happen, then open it,

& if the Execution of the Part you are therein requested will not be too inconvenient to your Affairs, I dare promise myself that your Endeavours to serve the Remains of your deceased Friend's Family will not be wanting.—

My Wife says, "Now don't forget to remember me affectionately to good M^r & M^{rs} Strahan, for I love them." She has indeed a real Affection for you both, as well as, Dear Sir

Your most assured Friend
& humble Servant

WM FRANKLIN

P. S. When you see D^r Pringle¹⁴ please to give my affect^d Compliments & acquaint him that I receiv'd his Answer to my Letter, for which I am much oblig'd to him, but as I had nothing material to communicate I thought it not proper to trouble him with a Letter, especially as I have not a Frank.

The Witnesses to the Will are Capt. D. Mitchell, Master of a Ship in the Carolina Trade who expects to return to London next Summer, John Richnell, Inn-Keeper at the Sign of the Prince George Plymouth, and John Prior, my Servant.

BURLINGTON April 25. 1763.

DEAR SIR:—

I now have the pleasure of saluting you from the American shore within a mile of which we arrived the 6th of February & came to anchor, but had the mortification of being prevented from landing by tempestuous weather till the twelfth. Our voyage was as disagreeable as can well be imagined & I would not wish the devil, nay Parson S.¹⁵ to experience a winters passage like ours. We had another storm in the Bay of Biscay, when a very

¹⁴ Sir John Pringle (1707–1782) was of high rank in scientific circles and became president of the Royal Society in 1772 and physician to the King two years later. His great work in life was the reform of military medicine and sanitation, his book on the subject being a military classic to this day.

¹⁵ William Smith (1727–1803), Provost of the University of Pennsylvania and an outspoken and vituperative opponent of Doctor Franklin.

great sea broke thro our cabbin windows & did considerable damage to our stores & baggage. The river was so full of ice that we were obliged to land 150 miles from Philadelphia & travel above 100 in an open one-horse-chair, as no other carriage was to be had, the weather extremely severe: We then met with a chariot which had been waiting for us some time, and before we reach'd Philadelphia a considerable number of gentlemen, with my father and sister, came out to meet us and escorte us into the city.

I had much ado to keep up poor Mrs. Franklin's spirits on some trying occasions, but upon the whole she behaved much beyond my expectations, and seems now, as you told her she would, to have quite forgot her fatigue, as a wife, when delivered of a fine girl or boy forgets the pains of labor.

My father gave us an affectionate welcome & accompany'd me to Amboy when I went to take possession of my Government. The reception I met with from Gov. Hardy¹⁶ was extremely genteel, and that from all ranks of people in New Jersey was equal to my most sanguine wishes. I have the prospect of an easy agreeable administration, and reason to expect an increase of the salary at least 500 pounds pr. Annum, which I dare say will afford you, and my other friends in England great pleasure to hear confirmed. The addresses presented to me at the several towns thro' which I pass'd were printed in the Pensylv. Gazette, and have I suppose been sent you by Mr Hall.¹⁷

¹⁶ Josiah Hardy was a merchant who had no connection with the colony of New Jersey and was wholly unknown there when he was appointed Governor in April, 1761, which office he held until he was succeeded by Governor Franklin, for issuing commissions to Judges during good behavior in violation of his instructions. He was a brother of Sir Charles Hardy who was Governor of New York, 1755 to 1757.

¹⁷ David Hall (1714-1772) was a journeyman printer with Strahan, in London, who sent him over to Doctor Franklin in 1744 and they subsequently entered into partnership. Hall conducted *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, started by Franklin, with much vigor and ability, and in 1766 bought Franklin out and formed the firm of Hall and Sellers.

I did propose residing at Amboy, but I find on many accounts it will be most proper for me to reside here for some time at least. The house building at Amboy for the Governor's residence is not built by the province, but by the Council of Proprietors, and as there is no good understanding between them & a great part of the people I have reason to think that my living in their house will not be a little unpopular, as it is suspected by some to be intended as a means of byassing the Governor to their interest. I have therefore taken a pretty good house in this town, which as it is within 20 miles of Philadelphia makes it the more agreeable.

Both my father and myself found our friends on our return as warm and as numerous as ever, notwithstanding the vile insinuations of a certain parson to the contrary. My mother is so entirely averse to going to sea, that I believe my father will never be induc'd to see England again. He is now building a house to live in himself.

I hope you have rec'd the money from Winterbottom, and if you have receiv'd the Pictures, Chapel Plate &c from the Jewel office, I should be glad to have them all carefully pack'd up and sent over as I shall find uses for them here. I am told I should have Folio Common Prayer books for all the Council, who are 12 in number, besides some for my own family. You won't forget to pack up my picture at Wilson's in the same box with the King's and if the miniatures are done please to send them by the first opportunity to Philada. to which place I would have everything for me sent, as being nearer than New York. I have remitted Messrs Sargent & Co 500 pounds which, with my return of premium will make a balance due to me, & I have directed it to be paid into your hands. Mrs. Franklin has wrote to Mrs. Hughes for some trifles and desired her to call upon you for the amount, which please to pay, and likewise Mr Becket his account against me for books, and desire him to send me out Ruffhead's Statutes at large. I should also be much obliged to you if you would send me one of the best

Cheshire cheeses you can purchase After you have paid the above mentioned sums for me, please to let me know how my acc. stands.

I grew fat on the voyage, and have continued doing so ever since, but Betsey is much as she was, tho in good health. She bids me tell you she shall strictly observe, on her part the advice you were so kind as to give us both with regard to our conduct to each other, and likewise as to looking upon England as our home. We have often wished that we could put Great Britain under sail, bring it over to this country and anchor it near us, we could then enjoy the pleasure which that delightful spot affords, as well as you whose happy destiny it was . . . been born there.

It gives me great pleasure to hear the Definitive Treaty is signed, hope it will put a stop to the very unjustifiable opposition which has been giv . . Ministry—Pray let me have a dish of politics in every course, for I assur . . . we in America have as strong an appetite for that kind of food as our bre . . in England can possibly have. This country at present affords lit . . . no returns in that way, but when any thing occurs that I think will be acceptable I shall not fail communicating it by the first opportunity.

Mrs. Franklin desires her affectionate regards to Mrs. Strahan, yourself, & family, may be tendered with those of Dear Sir, Your Assured Friend

and humble Servant

WM. FRANKLIN.

NEW YORK June 27th, 1763

DEAR SIR.

Happening to arrive at this place a few hours ago, & finding a vessel just on the point of departure for London I take the opportunity of acquainting you with what I dare say will afford you pleasure,—the Welfare of Mrs Franklin & myself. It would have given us particular

satisfaction to have heard the same of you & Mrs Strahan, but I know not how it has happened that so many vessels should arrive from England without my having so much as a single line from you. I know you have a deal of business on your hands, but then I know you at the same time seldom omit an opportunity of making your friends happy, & therefore I cannot account for your omission.

I wrote you a long letter in April last since which I have met the Assembly as you will see by the enclosed paper containing my speech with their address. We had a very amicable session & they increased my salary 200 pds. pr. An. which is a point no Governor could ever obtain from them before. This addition its true is but small. but I have good reason to believe that next year they will add £300 more. The salary is now £1200 & the Fees about £400 Currency.—If you think it not improper I should have no objection to your inserting the speech &c in the Chronicle.

Mrs Franklin is now pretty well reconciled to America & has her health I think better than when in England. I left her at Amboy, but she desired me if I wrote to remember her affectionately to you & Mrs Strahan. I intend to bring her to this city in a day or two, that she may see a lady with whom she was intimately acquainted in London.

Enclosed is an order for £25 Sterlg. on Henton Brown & Sons: For £10 of which I have drawn an order on you in favor of a person to whom I have wrote for some tea &c. & I have directed her to send you the tea to be forwarded to me under the care of Mr Hall, as I suppose you will have some other things to send him.—I must likewise beg you would present my best compliments to Mr Small and pay him 2 : 5 : 0 which he paid for me to Mr Oswald and acquaint him that I shall do myself the pleasure of writing to him as soon as I can get settled, which I now hope will be in a little time as a house is repairing for me at Burlington.

You will see by the publick Papers that a fresh Indian War has broke out. We are at a loss to know what to attribute it to as the Indians have made no complaints of late. From the best information I can procure it is owing to a Belt sent them by the French Commanding officer in the Illinois Country, before he heard of the Peace, promising them if they would rise and cut off the English on the Ohio near the lakes that they should receive support and assistance from the French in Louisiana. They have killed among others Sr Robert Davers, who came over from England to make a Tour of the lakes out of Curiosity, as he was assisting an officer in sounding for a passage in lake Huron. It gives me great concern to hear of the dissension among you great men & of Lord Bute's Resignation, but I trust he still retains his power tho not his office. I can't think what the Devil the people of England would be at. If one may form a judgment of them from the Publick prints they are certainly out of their senses—But I have no leisure for Politicks at present, having only time to add that I am with my best regards to Mrs Strahan

your affectionate humble servant

WM. FRANKLIN

Genl. Monckton¹⁸ goes by this vessel to England The enclosed letter to be sent to Duke street by the Penny post I desire you would charge me with the postage of this Pacquet

BURLINGTON, Oct. 14, 1763.

DEAR STRAHAN;—

In the name of God what have I said or done to you, that so many months should elapse and so many vessels arrive without my having the pleasure of a single line

¹⁸ Robert Monckton (1726–1782) led a battalion of Royal Americans at the siege of Louisburg in 1758 and was second in command at the capture of Quebec. He was made Governor of New York in 1761 and was offered a command in the Revolutionary War but refused to fight against the colonists.

from you since my arrival in America. I can't help imagining that you might have wrote and the letter miscarried. Mrs. F. says she thinks you have quite forgot us since we left England, and that you will not trouble yourself about us any more. I hope she is mistaken and that you will allow me to prove her so. I know you have a deal of business on your hands and perhaps have not had time to attend to the little affairs wh. you were so kind as to undertake to transact for me. If this is the case I beg you would not put yourself to any inconvenience on my account, but acquaint me with it as soon as you can conveniently that I may employ some other friend who has more leisure.

I wrote to you on the 25 of April and on the 27 of June. In the last I sent you an order on H. Brown & Sons for £25 on my account. I find by a letter from Mess. Sargent & Aufrere that they have paid you a balance due me of £6;4;1. They have since received the return for my insurance amounting to £51 which I have wrote to them by this vessel to pay to you or your order. I hope you have long before this received the £50 due me from Goble. Mrs. F. has wrote to Miss Clarke to purchase some shoes &c. for her and to draw on you for the money, which please to pay and charge to my account. I should be glad if you would send me a state of my account with you as soon as is convenient.

QUERIES. Pray have you received the King's picture &c. from the Jewel office? Have you got my picture from Wilson¹⁹ and the miniatures from Myers or Jefferies? Has Chamberlyne got the prints done? Have you sent me the letter containing the will, which I desired you to do from Plymouth?

As I hear *my good friend* Parson Smith has taken the liberty (even before he could hear of my arrival here) to propagate a report that my appointment to this govern-

¹⁹ Benjamin Wilson (1731-1788) was the artist who painted the portrait of Doctor Franklin that Earl Grey restored to this Nation. *Vide* PENNA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG., vol. xxx, p. 409.

ment was disagreeable to the people, I could have wished that you had published some of the addresses to me, and my speech &c. which were sent over to you. I believe no governor was ever more affectionately received by all ranks of people. Even with those from whom I might have expected opposition I am on very good terms. And as a convincing proof of my influence I have carried two points which the crown has long had at heart, and which former Governors have often unsuccessfully attempted. In short there is no more foundation for Smith's report than there is for believing him an honest man.

I am obliged to write this in a great hurry lest I might miss the opportunity, which prevents my adding anything of News or other affairs. I must therefore refer you to Mr. Hall's papers and to the bearer, Mr. Reed,²⁰ a young gentleman of this province who goes over for his improvement in the law, and whom I take the liberty of recommending to your notice as a friend of mine and a person of merit.

Mrs. F. says she cannot help loving you for all and joins in good wishes for yourself and Mrs. Strahan, with

Dear Sir,—

Your most humble servant,

WM. FRANKLIN.

Please insert the address of the Trustees of the college which you will see in one of the last papers. I suppose you have already inserted the speech.

To Mr WILLIAM STRAHAN.

BURLINGTON Nov 15. 1763.

Sir

The Assembly of this province have just met upon my summons, in order to raise some men to go against the

²⁰ Joseph Reed (1741–1785) was born in Trenton, N. J., graduated at Princeton and admitted to the bar in 1763, when he went to London and spent two years as student in the Middle Temple. His career during the Revolution is well known, and his reputation seems to have emerged from the cloud that for so long hung over the question of his patriotism.

Indians & I am at this moment to make my speech to them, so that this can little more than serve to acknowledge the receipt of your letter by Fillet, & to desire your care of the enclosed, the postage of which you must charge to me. The reason of my giving you this trouble is because I have heard that some of my letters to the publick offices have some how or other miscarried. Lord Egremont I hear is dead, but the letter should notwithstanding be left at Whitehall, & I should be obligd. to you to give the letter for the Board of Trade to Mr Pownall²¹ & to have Lord Shelburnes Letter left at his house.

If the several things which you mention to be of Crimson Damask are not made up before this comes to hand, I should be glad you would prevent it, & let the whole quantity of Crimson Silk Damask to be given me be changed for as much Yellow Silk & Worsted Damask as comes to the same value, as the latter is cheaper than the other I may probably get by the exchange sufficient for three Window Curtains, to suit some Yellow Damask Chairs & Furniture I have in my Dining Room The Fringe may likewise be changed for Yellow Fringe or Binding a, may be judged most proper for the Curtains by the upholsterer.—Mrs F. desires you will employ Mr Timothy Golding, upholsterer, in Brewer street near Golden Square, as she is acquainted with him, & thinks he will do it in the best & most reasonable manner when he knows it is for her.—The Curtains are to be 3 yards & $\frac{1}{4}$ long, & 4 breadths in each curtain to be hung festoon fashion. He will probably take the trouble of getting the Damask chang'd.—If the things, however should be made ups the office will I believe allow you for the value of them

²¹ Thomas Pownall (1722–1805) came to America in 1753 and in succession was made Lieut.-Governor of New Jersey, Governor of Massachusetts, and Governor of South Carolina, but the last post he never filled. He was the first Englishman of education and influence to devote his entire life to the amelioration of American political conditions, and he was also the first to introduce into parliament a bill for peace with the revolted colonies.

in money as they will do for other Governors. If they should not produce sufficient for the Curtains, let the remainder be purchased & charged to my account, & when I know the amount of Golding's bill I will remit the money.—The pictures &c may be sent as soon as convenient.

My Father desires Mr Chamberlyn²² would make a good copy of his picture which was done for Col Ludwell. Let it be put in a handsome gilt frame, & sent over, as soon as it can be well done, to him.—We are all well, & join in love to you & Mrs Strahan—I am Dear sir yours &c.

WM. FRANKLIN.

BURLINGTON, Dec. 18, 1763.

DEAR SIR;—

I have by Capt. Friend acknowledged the receipt of yours by Fillet, together with the Tea and Cheese, since which I have received yours of Oct. 8, by Hardie but the two boxes from Mrs. Hughes and the one containing the Metzotintos are not yet got to hand, owing to the ice which has rendered the river impassable for the stage boats. This same ice has I hear frightened Budden so that he intends to put off immediately lest he should be shut up for the winter. As we are not likely to have another vessel from hence till the Spring I intended to have wrote you a long letter, but it is now out of my power and I question if even these few lines will be in time for Budden.

²²Mason Chamberlin was a portrait painter and one of the original members of the Royal Academy, London. He painted a portrait of Doctor Franklin for Colonel Philip Ludwell of Virginia, *circa* 1760, and it was from this portrait that Franklin ordered a replica. In 1897 it belonged to Mr. Victor Van der Weyer, of London, who inherited it from his grandfather, Joshua Bates of Boston, and a copy of it by George D. Leslie is at Harvard University. The "prints" and "Mezzotintos" mentioned doubtless refer to a fine plate of the portrait that was scraped by Edward Fisher in 1763.

I am much obliged to you for inserting my first speech &c. and I now desire you will insert my second, together with the Assembly's address in answer. They will give you an idea of our situation with regards to the Indians. You will find them both in Mr. Hall's papers sent by this opportunity. The title of the Governor, if put at length to the speech, should be the same as that to the address, the first being wrong printed. And in the last part of the paragraph, relative to the Militia law, instead of the words (to you as absolutely necessary) insert (to your consideration). I have still a perfect harmony with everybody in the province and shall not fail to follow the good advice you give me for that purpose. My hearty thanks are due to you on that as well as on many other occasions.

I wish the King and Queen's pictures²³ were finished as there is no picture of either of them (except the prints) yet sent to N. America. Please to tell Mr. Myers²⁴ (if it is possible that he has not yet finished the Miniatures) that Mrs. Franklin would be glad to have them made a little fatter, as I have increased considerably in flesh since I left London. But care must be taken not to alter the

²³ The portrait of the King, by Alexander Ramsay, that Franklin mentions several times in these letters as being desirable should come over, is doubtless the identical whole-length portrait of George III now hanging in the Old State-House, or Independence Hall, Philadelphia. This picture was purchased in London by Joseph Harrison, Jr., about the middle of the last century, upon learning that it had been painted by the King's orders for the State House, in Philadelphia, but not sent over on account of the troubles that were brewing between the colonies and the mother country, and placed by him where it was intended originally it should hang.

²⁴ Jeremiah Meyer (1735-1789) was a distinguished miniature painter and enameller who apparently failed to execute his commissions for the Franklins, as in the *PENNA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG.* for January, 1906, p. 107, is a caustic letter from Doctor Franklin to the painter, demanding the return of a picture from which he was to make a miniature, and April 20, 1771, the Doctor writes to his son: "By this ship I send you the Picture that you left with Meyer. He has never finished the Miniatures." (Smyth's Franklin, vol. v, p. 313.)

likeness. She would likewise be glad to have my father's picture from Mr. Chamberlyne's (which I wrote for in my last) and mine from Mr. Wilson's as our dining room remains unfurnished for want of them. Please to ask Mr. Wilson if he received a letter I wrote him soon after my arrival here. I refer you to my letter per Friend in regard to what I would have done with the Crimson Damask &c. which you were to receive for me.

I hope you have received the £51 from Mess. S. & Aufrere. I don't believe I shall have money enough in your hands to answer all the demands that will be made on you for sundry things I have ordered from England but I will soon remit you a bill. Miss Clark will have I believe upwards of £30 to receive. Miss Smith £5 besides what I wrote to you to pay Mr. Small &c. I should be glad Becket would send me all the volumes of Rusthead's statutes now published, and the other volumes as they come out. Also the numbers printed of Mill's Husbandry, and those monthly pieces of some gentlemen of the society of Arts. These may be directed to me to the care of Mr. Hall as I would have everything you send for me.

We are greatly rejoiced to hear Mrs. Strahan is so well recovered. You have both of you our wishes for a long uninterrupted state of health and happiness.—

I am Dear Sir,

Yours affectionately,

WM. FRANKLIN.

P. S.

Hall has promised to send me the politics of your letter but he has not done it.

The things which Miss Clarke may send please to forward to Mr. Hall, and insure them with his goods. I will settle it with him.

Excuse Haste.

To WM. STRAHAN

BURLINGTON. May 1. 1764.

DEAR SIR.

Yours of the 26th of Decm. with a short postscript of Jan. 30. is come to hand. The above is a copy of the letter I sent per Friend which you mention not to have received. I suppose it is now too late to have the contents comply'd with. Be pleased in that case to tell Mr Golding to make the curtains notwithstanding according to the above directions, & I will remit the money as soon as I know the amount. And if the plate be not sent away before this reaches you, I should be glad to have it commuted for a handsome silver waiter large enough to hold four cups & saucers with the cream pot; a quart tankard with a top to it;—A pint cann; & a half pint cann. The tankard & cans to be quite plain.—Mr Jeffries²⁵ has done these kind of things for other Governors, & I doubt not will do the same for me. Should there be a ballance coming to him let him charge it to me, as I shall have other dealings with him. The Bible and three of the Prayer books may be sent over & the rest may be disposed of.—I hope you have recd- the 51 pounds from Messrs. S. & Aufrere; if you have not 'twill be paid on your sending for it.—Next week I intend going to Philadelphia when I shall purchase a bill & send you & write you more particularly than I can at present. My reason for not writing you any American politicks was because this Province afforded nothing of any consequence, & I have been so taken up as not to attend to the affairs of others. As to what passes in Pennsylv. I suppose my father & Mr Hall give you full accounts.—Both that Province & Maryland seem to be in a state of Anarchy, & unless the King takes them under his immediate Government (which all but the proprietary officers & dependents are anxious for) the worst of consequences will probably ensue.—I believe (but you best not mention it), that you will see my father in England again shortly, as the inhabitants are

²⁵ Thomas Jeffries, Goldsmith and Jeweller to the King.

very desirous he should take another voyage there in order to obtain a change of government. He has published two pamphlets lately, one called a Narrative of the Murder of the Indians at Cone Stagoë, & another Cool Thoughts &c. which are not too large for your Chron. & I believe most of your readers will be glad to see them there., I suppose Mr H. sends them. A period will probably be put to the Indian War this summer. Sr William Johnson²⁰ has made peace with the Senecas. They deliver up the Indians who first fell upon our frontiers; grant a large tract round Niagara to the King & his heirs with a free transportation over that portage to all his Majesty's subjects, without fee or reward. They have given hostages for the performance of the articles, & have joined the rest of the Confederated nations against our enemies. Sir Wm expects great things from all of them. Near 400 are now out against the enemy Indians. I was much entertained with your letter to my father. It made me imagine myself present at the debates. Mrs F. is uneasy at not receiving a box which Miss Clarke mentions to have been due to you the 8th of Jany. We continue well and happy. Our best wishes attend you & Mrs Strahan.—
I am dear sir yours affectionately

WM. FRANKLIN.

Endorsed. June 22: 1764 gave Mr Chamberlin the order

BURLINGTON, June 18, 1764.

DEAR SIR;—

I acknowledge the receipt of yours of Dec. 26th by the King of Prussia, Capt. Robinson, which I hope will have

²⁰ William Johnson (1715–1774) was an Irishman who came to this country in 1738 to take charge of the landed estate of his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, who had married Miss De Lancey of New York. He soon made a deep impression upon the Indians by his honesty and justice and won an influence over them never possessed by any other white man, so that he was appointed "sole superintendent of the Six Nations and their allies" and in 1755 was created a baronet.

better luck than that I sent you by your friend as I have not time at present to send you a copy being just on the point of setting out to Lord Stirling's²⁷ in East Jersey where we are to spend part of the summer. This likewise prevents my writing many things to you that I intended, but you may depend that I shall shortly send you a long letter to make up for my past deficiencies.

I have this day received yours of the 23rd of March together with the trunk containing the crimson damask &c. and the box from Miss Clarke. For your care therein I am much obliged to you.

Enclosed is a first bill of exchange drawn by my father on Messrs. Smith, Wright & Gray for 30 £ ster'l which I have indorsed to you and desire when received you would place to my account. I have drawn on you for 15 £ payable to Miss Smith and for 4 guineas to Elizabeth Roberts which please to pay on demand. I have likewise sent to Miss Clarke for 4 pairs of shoes for Mrs. F. and to Partridge, a shoemaker in St. James St. for 6 pairs for myself and directed them to call on you for the money and I must desire you would forward them and two canisters of tea from Miss Smith by the first vessel to the care of Mr. Hall. Mrs. Franklin joins in love to you and Mrs. Strahan. with,

Dear sir, your obliged Humble servant

WM. FRANKLIN.

Pray did you pay Mr. Small for me as I desired you in my letter June 27th 1763 and did you ask Mr. Wilson if he received a letter I wrote him soon after my arrival. My father seems to be preparing in earnest for a voyage to England.

²⁷ William Alexander (1726-1783), called "Lord Stirling," was born in New York and was an ardent patriot who became a Major-General in the Army of the Revolution. It was Stirling who arrested Governor Franklin, in July, 1776. His seat was at Baskinridge.

BURLINGTON Sept. 23. 1764.

DEAR SIR

I wrote you a few lines June 6th & intended to have wrote you a long letter by Bredden, who I had heard was not to sail till the 1st of October, but word is this moment brought me, that he is to sail this afternoon, so that I have now but just time to enclose you a second of the bill I sent you in my last for 30 Pounds Sterling, and to desire you will publish the following in the Chronicle as, An extract of a letter from an officer at Philadelphia.

"This Proprietary Province seems at present to be a perfect contrast to the neighboring Governments under the Crown There, all is peace and tranquility, here, the utmost anarchy and confusion, nor is there any prospect of harmony being restored to this unhappy country unless a change of government should ensue. The Go——r's refusing to let the Assembly grant an Aid to his Majesty, but on the iniquitous terms of having the best of the Proprietary lands taxed no higher than the worst of the peoples, which the House were obliged to comply with in their last Supply Act, and his having also sided with those who had insulted him and his Government against the very persons who had assisted him in the time of his distress, have occasioned such a hatred against the family as can never be eradicated. If the Crown therefore inclines to have that Province under its immediate Government there never can be a more proper opportunity for the purpose. The Proprietary Party, are exerting themselves to the utmost to carry the next election, thinking if they can but turn out the old members they shall shew that the majority of the people are not for a King's Government. But notwithstanding they are begging, promising, and bribing all in their power it is thought by those who are best acquainted with these matters that they will not be able to succeed."

Mrs. F. desires her love to you & Mrs Strahan. Excuse this hasty scrawl & believe me to be very sincerely

Dear Sir

Your Friend & hum. sev't.

WM. F.

To WM. STRAHAN

BURLINGTON Febry. 18th. 1765.

Dear Sir

I perceive by the Chronicle that my letter to you of Sept 21. (which enclosed you a second bill for 30 £ Sterling) has got safe to hand, as you have therein published an extract of it, for which I am much obliged to you But whether you received mine of May 1 1764. containing the first bill for 30 £ I have not heard. The last letter I have receivd. from you is dated March 23. 1764. But as I have since receivd some tea & shoes, which you were so good as to forward for me to Mr Hall, I doubt not but you have also wrote, tho' I have not had the pleasure of receiving your letter. I have a great suspicion that some of the Proprietary Politicians in Pennsylvania have been mean enough to intercept many of my letters from England, in hopes of finding something of which they may take advantage; for I have late received several things from different persons in England without any letter accompanying them, For the future be pleased to send your letters to me under cover to Messrs Baynton and Wharton Merchants in Philadelphia.

I have no copy of the letter I sent you in June, but I remember it contains the first bill for 30 £ and an acknowledgement of the receipt of the trunk containing the Common Prayer books, Damask &c In mine of Nov. 15. 1763 I desired you to get the Silk Damask changed for some silk & Worsted Damask & to have it made into curtains for my dining room by Mr Timothy Golding, Upholsterer, in Brewer Street, near Golden Square, who having formerly work'd for Mrs Franklin & her brothers

family would perhaps make them more reasonably than others. But as that letter miscarried. & as I thought the Damask would probably be sent over, I desired you in my letter of May 1. to tell Mr Golding to make the curtains notwithstanding, according to these directions, Viz. "Three curtains of Yellow Silk and Worsted Damask: Each Curtain to be Three yards and a quarter long—to contain four breadths of the Damask—& to be hung festoon fashion." And I likewise desired that if the Chapel Plate was not sent away, that you would have it commuted for a handsome silver waiter (large enough to hold four cups & saucers with the cream pot) A Quart Tankard with a top—A Pint Cann—& a Half Pint Cann. The Tankard & the Canns to be quite plain. If you have not received these letters & already sent the things, I should be glad you would as soon after the receipt of this as you can conveniently. The Canns indeed if not sent may be omitted, as I have been obliged to purchase such here. Mr Jefferies, the King's cutler, has been used to commute things of this kind for other Governors, & will I doubt not readily do the same for me. I should be glad to have your account as soon as suits your convenience. The ballance due to you I desired my father to pay, which he promised.—I have not received the books from Becket which I wrote for, & perhaps he has omitted to send them.

We have not heard anything from my father since he sailed, but I hope he has been safely landed in England at least two months ago. Since he left us Mr Allen,²⁸ one of the principal Prop'y. Tools in Pennsylvania, has employed that miscreant Parson Smith & two or three other prostitute writers, to asperse his character in which they have been very industrious. However, they have lately

²⁸ William Allen (1710–1780) was Chief Justice of Pennsylvania from 1750 to 1774. The latter year he went to England, where he died. He was a pronounced Loyalist.

received a terrible shock from Mr Hughes,²⁹ one of my Father's friends, who being incensed at their base conduct published an advertisement signed with his name, in which he promised that if Mr Allen or any Gentn. of

²⁹ John Hughes was "Chief Distributor of the Stamps" for Pennsylvania and Delaware under commission, secured for him by Doctor Franklin and transmitted to Hughes under cover of a private letter from Franklin of August 9, 1765 (Smyth's Franklin, iv, 392); but he was not allowed by the citizens to serve and was forced to resign. Franklin's exact position in this matter has never been made quite clear and at the time was made much of against him. Hughes had been a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania for ten years from 1755 and on January 15, 1756, was a Commissioner, with John Mifflin and Evan Morgan, to furnish the troops with provisions, etc.; in July, 1757, was one of the Provincial Commissioners who appeared at the Treaty at Easton with Teedyuscung on behalf of the Indians, and in October, 1757, was one of a commission with Edward Shippen and James Galbraith "to construct a fort and convenient houses at Wiomink for the Indians" (Pa. Arch., iii, 288), but Hughes peremptorily refused to go unless he had sole command of the expedition (Id., 289), which occasioned some rather warm correspondence with Governor Denny. It seems, however, from a letter written by the Governor a month later (Id., p. 316) that the affair had been adjusted without Hughes being given command. "Wiomink" was Wyoming. He was commissioned October 20, 1759, a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Philadelphia, but on February 8, 1761, a writ of supersedeas was issued, against him and his five colleagues, forbidding them exercising the powers granted by Governor Denny. His haughty and imperious character made him a difficult subject and, as Galloway wrote to Franklin, "disgusted with his friends and all the world," he retired to his farm, *Walnut Grove*, "Where he wrote letters of advice to the minstry" Governor Franklin tells his father. He sold *Walnut Grove*, where the famous *Meschianza* was held, to Joseph Wharton, and in 1769 removed to Portsmouth, N. H., where he had been appointed Collector of the Customs, an office he found very difficult to exercise, and later held the same post at Charles Town, as *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, for February 20, 1772, states, in announcing his death. He had a brother, Hugh Hughes, who resided in New York and was one of the Sons of Liberty and a Patriot throughout the war. Owing to severe financial disasters Hugh Hughes "supported a numerous family by teaching school," which fact is placed curiously and erroneously to the credit of John Hughes in the generally very accurate Index to the Second Series of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in indexing the letters written from James Parker to Benjamin Franklin, printed in volume xvi of the *Proceedings*, pp. 202, 204, 208, 211, 217 and 224. John Hughes also had a son named for his uncle Hugh, who resided in New Jersey and whose father wanted Doctor Franklin to have him appointed Stamp Distributor for that colony. For a full account of the Stamp Act and John Hughes, see *Hazzard's Register*, vol. ii, pp. 243-250.

character would undertake to justify the charges brought against Mr Franklin he would pay 10 pounds to the hospital for every one they should prove to the satisfaction of impartial Persons provided they would pay 5 pounds for every falsehood he should prove they had alledg'd against Mr Franklin. But this challenge they were afraid to accept, & therefore still kept their names concealed; but as they thought that something must be done they endeavored to turn Mr Hughes' challenge into ridicule & raise the laugh against him by an anonymous answer. He however, published a reply, with his name subscribed, in which he has lash'd them very severely for their baseness. Not being able to answer this they employed one Dove,³⁰ a fellow who has some talent, for the lowest kind of Scurrility to publish a print with some verses annex'd vilifying my Father & some of the most worthy men of the Province. By way of revenge some writer has attacked them in their own way; 'turn'd Dove's verses against Mr Allen, he being the head of the Prop'y Party. This has enraged him excessively as those verses and the print has cost him upwards of 25 pounds. You will probably have seen before this reaches you, the advertisement, answer & reply, as they were printed in Mr Hall's newspaper, & therefore I send you the enclosed pamphlet, which is likely to put a stop to that kind of writing here for the future, as was the intention of the author.—The malice of the Prop. Party against my Father on account of his wanting to bring about a change of Government is beyond all bounds. They glory in saying and doing things to destroy his character that would make even Devils blush.—If he does not succeed I know not what will become of the Province, as there is such a rooted hatred among a greater Majority of the people against the Prop'n Family. Do let me hear what you think of his undertaking &c &c

³⁰ *Vide* A Philadelphia Schoolmaster of the Eighteenth Century. By Joseph Jackson. *PENNA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG.*, vol. xxxv, p. 315.

Pray hasten Mr Ramsay with the King & Queen's picture, & send it over with mine at Mr Wilsons.

Mr Stockton³¹ the gentleman who will deliver you this, is a considerable lawyer of this province, & a particular friend of mine, give me leave to recommend him to your acquaintance and to desire that you would treat him with the sight of S. Johnson & a few more of your Authors; for we Americans, when we go to England have as much curiosity to see a live author as Englishman have to see a live ostrich, or Cherokee Sachem

Mrs Franklin joins in love to good Mrs Strahan & yourself with Dear Sir

Your sincere Friend, & obliged hum servnt,

WM FRANKLIN.

P. S. I hope you have paid Mr Small & also Mr Jackson, of the Temple, agreeable to what I wrote to you before. The latter is about 27 Pounds.

To WM. STRAHAN

BURLINGTON Jany. 29. 1769.

Dear Sir

If a due sense of one's fault is any step toward amendment, I may hope that I shall hereafter become a more regular correspondent; for never was man more ashamed of, nor angry with himself, than I have been on account of my having so long neglected acknowledging the receipt of your favor by Mr Alexander.³² I have nothing to plead

³¹ Richard Stockton (1730-1781), Signer of the Declaration of Independence, made a visit to England in 1766, where he remained fifteen months and was instrumental in securing John Witherspoon for the presidency of the College of New Jersey.

³² Doubtless Cosmo Alexander, a Scotch painter who came to this country about the time of this letter, painting a number of interesting portraits in the affected perfunctory manner of the period. He was a great-grandson of George Jameson, whom Walpole calls "the Vandyke of Scotland;" but his chief interest for us is that he was the first instructor in art of Gilbert Stuart, America's master painter, whom he took to Scotland in 1773, where Alexander soon after died. It would be interesting to know where are the paintings he did for William Franklin.

in excuse, but that it was constantly in my intention to write, and that tho' I have some how or other, from time to time, omitted doing it, yet it was never owing to an abatement of that regard and friendship which I have ever entertain'd for you, from our first acquaintance. It gives me indeed much concern that there should be such a chasm in our correspondence. But as the business of my office occasions me a great deal of writing, and as my income (my necessary expenses considered) will not allow me to keep even a private secretary or clerk to copy my dispatches, it is not possible that I should keep up so constant & regular a correspondence with my friends as I could wish. I have shown, and shall continue to show, Mr Alex'r. all the civilities & render him all the services in my power, both on his own account and your recommendation. He has been for several weeks together at my house, and I employed him in doing as much painting as came to ninety Guineas, besides getting him business in that way from several of my friends; so that if he don't succeed in recovering his lands (which however, I believe he will) he cannot be any great loser by his voyage. He was last year deprived of the use of his limbs by a fit of sickness but is since recovered & got to work again.

This will be delivered to you by a particular friend of mine, Mr Samuel Wharton³³ Merchant of Philadelphia, who I beg leave to recommend to your civilities. He is a gentleman of character & abilities, and, from what he has heard me say of you, he is very desirous of the pleasure of being of your acquaintance. I dare say you will

³³ Samuel Wharton (1732-1800), who was a cousin of Thomas Wharton, Jr., first Governor of the State of Pennsylvania under the title of "President of the Supreme Executive Council," was a merchant of high standing and a partner in the house of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, to whom the Six Nations of Indians made over a tract of land of 200,000 acres, on the upper Ohio River, as indemnity for £40,000 worth of goods destroyed by them. Mr. Wharton went to England to obtain a confirmation of this grant in which he almost succeeded when the Revolution broke out and ended his errand, so that the deed was never approved.

like him, and I am sure he will like you. I long much to have a chat with you on our American affairs, which are really becoming very critical. But I durst not trust my sentiments on that subject to a letter for fear of accidents. Mr Wharton, however, is capable of giving you very exact information of the state of affairs on this side the water. We wait with impatience to hear the result of the session of Parliament with respect to America. Your letters of political intelligence, which Mr Hall generally publishes in his Paper afford us from time to time the best information we receive of what is doing in Parliament, it containing many interesting particulars, & little anecdotes, which we have not thro' any other channel.

Mrs Franklin & I were much concerned at the loss you sustained in the death of your very amiable daughter Johnston We hope her children are well, & afford you and Mrs Strahan a good deal of comfort. Our best wishes attend you both—remember me kindly to your son William and to my young *Mother* who, I suppose, is now grown a woman, and will ere long add to her & your Happiness, by taking unto herself a husband. I heartily wish her a good one, and am with the sincerest regard, Dear Sir your most faithful & obedient servant.

By Mr Wharton.

WM. FRANKLIN

To WM. STRAHAN

BURLINGTON June 18th. 1771

Dear Sir.

If I did not know that you were one of the best men in the world, and always disposed to make proper allowances for the faults of your friends, I should be much more uneasy than I am at having been so deficient in my correspondence with you. Your last letter, however of the 3rd of April, is of so kind & friendly a nature that to delay my acknowledgements of it would render me unworthy of your future regard or notice

I was in hopes Lord H.³⁴ had quite forgot that long letter he put me under the necessity of writing to him, as it was wrote above two years & a half ago & I have received some tolerably complaisant letters from him since. If that letter proved a Phillipic to his Lordship, it was not so from any design in me, but from the nature of the subject. He was treated with great respect throughout the whole, but it was impossible for me to clear myself of the charges he brought against me, otherwise than by showing that they had not any just foundation, and it was impossible to do this, without at the same time, showing (by implication at least) that the man who could invent such charges was—no better than he should be. He had at the very time he found fault with my conduct documents in his possession that proved the direct contrary of what he asserted. Knowing this I was not a little alarmed. I could not imagine that he would venture to act such a part without he was determined to remove me from my office, as soon as he could contrive a plausible excuse for it. I therefore determined to shew him that there was not even a shadow of pretence for the censure he had passed on my conduct in hopes that when he found that to be the case he would desist from or at least postpone any further attempts against me. At the same time I knew that if he was of a revengeful ungenerous Temper there was danger in showing that he was wrong, of irritating him still more against me—The answer he returned was pretty similar to what he mention'd to you. But if the King really did say to him "My Lord I wonder at your patience," I think he would not have fail'd upon such a hint to remove, unless indeed, he was afraid that by a Publication of my letters I should

³⁴Wills Hills (1718–1793), second Earl of Hillsborough, was Joint-Postmaster-General, 1766–1768, and Secretary of State for the colonies, 1768–1772. He was a tyrannical enemy of the colonies and pursued a harsh policy toward America, for which he was severely attacked by Sir Philip Francis in the *Letters of Junius*.

give the world a fresh proof of his injustice. At the time he was so much blam'd for his treatment of General Amherst.³⁵ As to his Lordship's saying that my letters never came to him through the ordinary channel, &c. it is *inter nos*, a downright falsehood. I am well convinced that he never receiv'd above one in ten in any other way. It is true that when I have had occasion to write anything to him which particularly respected myself, and had not time to copy the letter, I have sometimes enclosed it to my father, that he might be acquainted with the matter, & thereby be enabled to pursue such measures as the necessity of the case might require; which cannot be deem'd very improper, when it is considered that, besides being my father he is an agent appointed by the Governor as well as by the Assembly, and that it may be necessary for him at times to appear in behalf of one as well as the other. However, this I mention in confidence. The truth of the matter is Lord H has really no cause of quarrel with me, but having been disappointed in his late attempts to injure my father he is now endeavoring to hurt him through me. For which purpose he catches at every the minuteest trifle, and even blames me for things that he ought to approve, he has no reason (other than the natural connexion between us) to imagine that I entertain the same political opinion with my father with regard to the disputes between Britain & America. My sentiments are really in many respects different from those which have yet been published on either side of the question; but as I could not expect the voice of an individual be attended to in the temper both parties were in, I for the most part kept my sentiments to myself, & only endeavored to steer my little bark quietly through all the storms of political contest with which I was every-

³⁵ Jeffrey Amherst (1717-1797) came to America in 1758, captured Louisburg, became Commander-in-Chief, took Fort Du Quesne, Ticonderoga and Crown Point from the French, but was unsuccessful against the wily Pontiac, and returned to England in 1763.

where surrounded. I have however, on no occasion given up a single point of the Crown's Prerogatives, nor have I ever attempted the least infringement of the People's Privileges. An almost uninterrupted harmony has prevailed between me & the other branches of the Legislature of this Province, we having had no difference of any importance until the session in April last, when they foolishly refused to grant any money for the supply of the King's troops after all the other colonies had given up the point, and notwithstanding they had more money in the Treasury struck expressly for the use of the Crown, than was necessary for the purpose. My messages to them on this head are a sufficient refutation of any suspicions Lord H. may entertain of my having any undue or improper Bias to American Politics, and perhaps may have a tendency to induce him to drop his designs against me.

I have for some time past settled my mind with regard to the affair of the Ohio settlement, and have almost given up all expectation of its taking place while Lord H presides at the board of trade. If it should, however succeed it will give me great pleasure, tho' not so much on any hopes I have of its being eventually advantageous to me, as that it is the only probable means which now seems to offer, by which my friends Baynton, Wharton, & Morgan³⁶ (on whose account I was principally induced to engage in the undertaking) may extricate themselves from their embarrassments. I have not any doubt of Mr Wharton's activity, sagacity or perseverance in this business. He is very capable and has certainly every inducement to exert all his abilities in carrying it through. It is indeed high time that a Government was established in that country for the people are migrating there every day, and settling themselves on the lands without any title. They are there exempt from all law and order, the

³⁶ This firm, one of the most important in the colonies, was composed of John Bayton, Samuel Wharton, and George Morgan.

ill consequences of which, when they come to be somewhat more numerous, as they soon will be, are too obvious to need mentioning. I requested one Mr Hooper,³⁷ a Gent'n. of character who lately went to the Ohio to survey a large tract of land for Col Croghan,³⁸ to send me an acct. of the nature of the land, the number of the inhabitants &c. and yesterday I received a letter from him from which, as I imagine it will be agreeable to you, I send the following extract for your information.

"FORT PITT³⁹ May 22d 1771.

SIR,

"In eight days after I left Philadelphia I arrived here & found Col. Croghan very well. I have been engaged in running the line of the Colonels lower Tract on the South West Side of the Mononghela extending down the Ohio about 27 miles below Fort Pitt, which tract is in general very good and I believe will readily sell to settlers at Ten Pounds Sterling pr hundred acres, subject only to the quit rent that shall become due to the Crown in the new Government. These are the terms proposed by the Colonel, and I believe as soon as the confirmation is known he will sell a considerable quantity of land at that price. Three Germans that came up with me from Northampton County, in Penneslvania, to seek a settle-

³⁷ This was Robert Lettis Hooper, Junior, the third if not the fourth of his name, which makes it very difficult to identify his early career, a puzzle the writer is now endeavoring to solve. He lived respectively in Trenton and in Burlington county, New Jersey, and in Philadelphia and in Easton, Pennsylvania. He is commonly called "Colonel Hooper" and was Deputy Quartermaster-General in the Continental army; Deputy Commissary of Transportation, and one of the Superintendents of Magazines "to be laid up for the army," his department covering Northampton, Bucks, Berks, and Philadelphia counties in Penna. and Sussex county in New Jersey. He was Vice-President of New Jersey and died at Trenton, July 30, 1797, in his sixty-seventh year, leaving no descendants.

³⁸ George Croghan was an Indian trader and agent who in 1766 made a settlement four miles from Fort Pitt and rendered valuable service in pacifying and conciliating the Indians.

³⁹ After the capture of Fort Du Quesne from the French, this post was called Fort Pitt, now Pittsburgh, Penna.

ment for themselves and about thirty families, after viewing this tract of the Colonels with me, agreed to give £17/10 Currency pr hundred for about 20,000 acres & to make a German settlement on the Ohio. After consulting with their friends they are to give the Col. their answer in July next, & I expect a number of families will enter on the land this fall. There is already near sixty families settled on this tract, the whole of which is, I think within the bounds of the new Government.— This part of the country is hilly, but the soil is of an excellent quality & free from stone. It is generally wooded with black oak intermixed with walnut & locust trees which are never found but in a rich good soil. It has been said that this country was not well stored with springs and creeks, sufficient for mills, the contrary of which I am well convinced of for 30 miles round this place. I cannot with any certainty inform your excell'n. what number of families are settled on the west side of the Allegheny mountains, but I have reason to conclude from information that I have had, there must be at least three thousand, therefore considering the great number of people that yearly remove from the Eastern Colonies, into this new country, I think the settlement of the new colony will be more rapid than any other of the colonies has been in America."

I was much obliged to you for a copy of the queries you put to my father and his answers, which I had not seen before. Mr Gale the gent'n. who delivered them to me with a letter of recommendation from you, is now gone to the Ohio, to assist Mr Hooper in surveying for Col. Croghan; those Gent'n. having, at my request, agreed to find him employ there for this summer at least. It is the first business he has obtained since his coming to America, & I am in hopes will be introductory to something of more consequence.—Mr Lyle whom you likewise recommended to me, is settled at present on a farm of mine within 5 miles of this town, which I let him have for a twelve month on

his own terms, that he might have an opportunity of trying whether he could make anything by farming in America, of which he seemed to have a great doubt. However he has found it excee'd his expectations, & has some thoughts of taking a farm near mine, & fixing there altogether. He appears to understand farming very well, but does not like to work much himself, as all our farmers are obliged to do, labour being extremely dear here to what it is in the old Counteries. The other gent'n. Mr Brett who brought me a recommendatory letter from you, was several times at my house & I took him to see some farms in this neighborhood, which were at that time to be sold, but none of them suited him. He afterwards agreed to purchase 1500 acres in N. York Government (belonging to a man who had empowered me to sell it) & requested me to have the deeds drawn, but before they were completed he desired to be off, because his Grey Mare it seems did not approve of the purchase, since which I have heard nothing of him.

It gave me particular pleasure to hear that you were gratified in your wishes of being King's Printer, But don't flatter yourself that you are arrived at the "ne plus ultra" of your desires. There is no such thing in this life. I entirely agree with you, however in thinking a life of industry the most eligible.

The account you gave me in one of your letters of the state of your family was extremely agreeable to Mrs Franklin & myself as everything must be which informs us of your comfort & happiness. Our best wishes ever attend you & Mrs Strahan. Do let our mother know that we send our duty & present our compls, to your sons William⁴⁰ & George.⁴¹ I should be happy to see the latter

⁴⁰ William Strahan, Jr., who died in his father's lifetime, was a suitor for the hand of Governor Franklin's sister Sarah. Sparks prints a letter, from his father to her mother, on the subject.

⁴¹ George Strahan (1744-1824) was second son of William Strahan. He was graduated at Oxford and took orders. He was a great favorite with Doctor Samuel Johnson and administered to him on his death-bed.

Bishop of America. I am with great truth Dear sir,
your ever faithful & affect, servant

WM. FRANKLIN

To MR. STRAHAN.

BURLINGTON, June 21, 1771.

DEAR FRIEND,

I am obliged to you for yours of June 17, & for the care you took in sending my Letter from my Father. It is dated April 24. It mentions the Ohio Affair being in a prosperous way, but directs me not to say anything about it, as many things happen *between the Cup and Lip*. If the present administn stand their ground, we may expect, I think, to hear of something decisive on that Head soon. The Boat is just going——

Yours affecty

W. FRANKLIN.

PERTH AMBOY, May 7th, 1775.

DEAR SIR;—

I sent the enclosed packet to New York to day in order to go by Capt. Lawrence but it was returned to me by my friend there with an account of Capt. Lawrence having sailed yesterday, but as Capt. Coupar is to sail from thence to London on Tuesday my friend advises me to put my packet under cover to some private person in London in whom I can confide and send it by him. I have therefore taken the liberty to enclose it to you as otherwise there would be danger of its being opened by some of the Sons of Liberty, at New York, if seen in Capt. Coupar's bag, or perhaps by some of his passengers This too will excuse me for not directing you as member of Parliament or king's Printer.

Your favor of the fifth of February by Falconer came to hand last week and shall be answered fully as soon as I have any leisure. At prezent I have scarcely time to subscribe myself,

Your affectionate friend
and most obedient servant,

WILLIAM FRANKLIN

WM. STRAHAN, ESQR.

I have this moment heard that my father arrived at Philadelphia on Friday evening last, which is quite unexpected news to me.

TO WM. STRAHAN

NEW YORK Oct 9th. 1779.

DEAR SIR.

I was made happy by the receipt of your favor of the 26th of June, which gave me so pleasing an account of the health and situation of yourself and family, in whose welfare I shall always feel myself interested.

You have greatly obliged me by the readiness with which you executed my business at the Treasury. I am very glad to have so good an agent & banker, & have drawn on you for the balance you mention (£609:7:6) in favor of Mr Frederick Wm. Geyer at ten days sight, you will please to continue to receive my quarterly allowance as it becomes due. This letter is chiefly to advise you of the above draft, for as to politics, I must defer writing on the subject till a more safe opportunity which will probably soon offer by the fleet. However I cannot resist sending you an extract from a Rebel News-Paper now before me, by which you may form a pretty tolerable idea of our management here. I know not the writer, and tis well for him, perhaps, that he is not known here, otherwise he might find to his sorrow, that truth is not to be spoken at all times. As it has found its way for once into a Rebel Paper, perhaps it may do some good, if it could likewise appear in some of your English Papers.

I am, with my best regards to Mrs Strahan & the rest of your worthy family, Dear sir, your faithful & affec't hum. servt.

WM. FRANKLIN

WM STRAHAN ESQ.

*From the New Jersey Journal (a Rebel Paper)
dated Sept, 21. 1779.*

NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT Sept. 8

Extract of a letter from a person in New York to a person in Savanna in Georgia, dated Aug 19, taken on board a prize brought in to New London.

—"I have the pleasure of yours by Col.—your observations respecting the operations to the Southward will not apply here.—Here with a body of 12000 men, we do—nothing: The Rebels are the only active people here; they lately, by a well concerted, well conducted plan, surprised Stony-point-Fort, up the North River, a regular constructed fort, with about 600 men in it, and commanded by Col. Johnston⁴² of the 17th Regiment, about 40 were killed, the rest were taken; they took off or destroyed everything, and, on the approach of General Clinton's Army, abandoned it. Last night they surprised Pawles Hook carried off about 158 men. Such are the blessed effects of the three years campaigns under the Howes, who have been excellent drill sergeants to them,—yet we do nothing, though the troops themselves are encouraging. We have changed our chief, it is true, but I cannot say for the better. Our present chief, tis said, never continues in one mind from Breakfast till dinner, or from dinner till bed-time, and he is as much above advice as his predecessor. He could have destroyed stores, intercepted convoys surprised parties or cantonments &c. but the court stile on all occasions is, these are not the objects, and what are his objects none can tell perhaps it may be doubted if he himself knows. We are fortifying this town and island, and showing every sign

⁴² Henry Johnson (1748–1835), colonel of the 17th regiment of foot, commanded at Stony Point when he was surprised by Anthony Wayne and he and his whole force made prisoners. His orderly book, that fell into the hands of Wayne, is in the Hist. Soc. of Penna. He married Rebecca Franks of Philadelphia in 1782 and was created a baronet in 1818.

of fear of invasion. This may be prudent but can we do nothing besides? General Tryon⁴³ was recalled and rebuked for burning Fairfield and Norwalk. Nothing has been attempted since.—We have always here doubted both the capacity and integrity of your active commander, and therefore are pleased he is to return to his Regiment; he has feathered his nest well by all accounts.”

NEW YORK May 19th, 1780

DEAR SIR,

My last to you was dated the 30th of November. This is just to advise you that I have this Day drawn on you, in two Sets of Exchange, for Two hundred and forty-three Pounds Fifteen Shillings Sterling, payable to Mr. Frederic Wm. Geyer, or order, Ten Days after Sight. One Set for £100 and the other for £143.15. 0. This is for half a year's Allowance, after the Deduction of Sixpence in the Pound. There was a Year's Allowance due on the 5th, of last Month, the whole of which, I suppose, you have received Quarterly as it became due.

We have no News of any Consequence but what you will see in the public Papers. If what is contained in that published this Day (as brought from the West Indies) prove true it might be attended with the greatest Advantages to the British Interest.

In haste, but ever

Yours affectionately

WM. FRANKLIN.

WM. STRAHAN, ESQR.

⁴³ William Tryon (1725–1788), Lieut.-Governor of North Carolina, 1764 to 1771, when he was appointed Governor of New York, which he held until 1778, when he returned to England. He was detested by the colonists for his rigorous administration and the inhumanity he exhibited on several occasions, especially during his Connecticut depredations, which he conducted in person.

NEW YORK, May 11th. 1781.

DEAR SIR

I have not had the pleasure of a line from you since the 26th of June 1779. The last letter I wrote to you was dated the 12th of November 1780, in which I informed you of my having drawn on you for 200 pounds sterling, in favor of Mr Geyer, and enclosed copies of sundry intercepted letters &c. Pray did you receive them?

In Jan. last I likewise drew on you for 300 pounds sterling in favor of Mr Geyer, which is the last bill I have drawn and will probably be the last that I shall draw on you for some time as I cannot draw at less than 10 per cent less, exclusive of the six pence in the pound deducted in England, which I can by no means afford. I have therefore sold off some effects that I could best spare in hopes of being able to support myself by that means until bills may rise to a price nearer their value. In the meantime it will be of some advantage to me if you will be so good as to place in my name part of the money you may receive on my account from time to time in the Public Fund, where it may be producing interest: Which of the stocks to prefer I know not, but some of my friends think Bank Stock the most advantageous, as the interest, they say is paid quarterly and may be immediately applied to the increase of the principal. Others prefer Navy Bills. However, that is a matter I leave entirely to your judgment, not doubting you will do the best you can for me. By my account there was due to me after paying all my drafts on the 5th of April last. 231 : 5: and on the 5th of July I shall have £.121 : 17 : 6 more due, so that you may lay out for me about 350 pounds in the purchase of stock, and receive the interest as it may become due.

I must likewise beg leave to trouble you on another matter of some importance to me. A Mr Baldwin Wake⁴⁴

⁴⁴ A son or grandson of William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1716 until his death, in 1737, and brother of the wife of William Tryon, Governor of New York.

(brother of Sir William Wake, Member of Parliament) rented a farm of me and not having paid the rent for several years there was due to me on a settlement £268 :19 sterling, for which, just before his departure for England he gave me his bond dated Aug 14th 1779, on interest at 7 per cent (the legal interest here) payable in Twelve months. I could have prevented his leaving this country unless he either paid me or gave security for the debt, but in consideration of his character and family connexions, I consented to take his bond, and promised that in case he paid you the principal within a year I would forgive him the interest, which he gave me expectations of doing, but as you have not mentioned the subject so me, I conclude he has not paid it. I should be glad therefore you would, as my attorney, demand payment of the bond and endeavor to recover the money for me as soon as possible. Your receipt will be a sufficient discharge to him for the sum, and I will deliver up the bond to any person whom he may appoint to receive it. He left bill of exchange drawn in his favor by Thomas Powell of Burlington in New Jersey on Arthur Goold Esq., in Halifax, Nova Scotia for £52 : 16. sterling dated May 1st 1779, which was protested and has never since been paid. If it had I was to have given him credit for so much on the Bond—the enclosed letter to him is to inform him of this circumstance, and to request that he will discharge the bond by paying the amount to you. If it should be necessary to send you over a certified copy of the bond, you will please to let me know by the first opportunity, but I trust Mr Wake is too much a gentleman to dispute it—his brother Sir William can probably inform you where he is to be found.

Excuse me, my dear sir for imposing so much on your friendship, but be assured that you cannot oblige one who will have a higher sense of gratitude for the favor than

Your faithful and affectionate humble servt.

WM. STRAHAN ESQ.,

WM. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Please to read and send the inclosed to Mr Wake with a few lines requesting payment and acquainting him with your address.

NEW YORK June 7, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

This is just to inform you that I have this Day drawn on you for Fifty Pounds Sterling, in favor of Mrs. Mary Johnson, a Gentlewoman who has gone from hence to Cork. This will leave only about 300 £ of my Money in your Hands to be put in the Funds, agreeably to my Request by the May Packet.

I thank you for your Favour of the 13th of January, which I did not receive till about two or three Weeks ago. I propose writing to you fully, and that soon. In the mean Time I remain, as ever,

Your faithful
and affectionate
humble servant

WM. STRAHAN, ESQ.

WM. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Inclosed are eight Rebel Newspapers, which, when you have perused, be so good as to send to my Friend Galloway.⁴⁵

NEW YORK, Novr. 6, 1781

DEAR SIR

Since the unhappy Surrender of Lord Cornwallis every Person is anxious to get his Property remitted to Great Britain; A Friend of mine, Isaac Bonnel,⁴⁶ Esqr formerly

⁴⁵ Joseph Galloway (1729–1803) was a close friend of Doctor Franklin until he became the leading Tory in Pennsylvania. He early advocated a change of government from the Proprietary to the Royal form and in December, 1776, joined General Howe, and remained with the British until the evacuation of Philadelphia, when he went to England. The Penna. legislature in 1788 attained him of High Treason and confiscated his estates.

⁴⁶ Isaac Bonnell (1737–1806) was Sheriff of Middlesex county, New Jersey, under Governor Franklin. He was arrested in July, 1776, but released on parole and later was Barrack Master of the British army on Staten Island. At the peace he went to Nova Scotia, where he became Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. His only son was named for William Franklin.

High Sheriff at Amboy, having no Acquaintance in England, has requested me to get you to receive the Money for the four inclosed Bills of Exchange amounting to £1999 : 7 : 5 Sterling, and lodge it in the Funds, in his Name, in such Manner as you may think will be most for his Advantage. You to receive the Interest from Time as it may become due, and to let it lay in your Hands until he may draw for it, or otherwise direct. In Complying with his Request you will add to the many Obligations already conferred on

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient

Servant

WM. FRANKLIN.

P. S. The Bills are drawn by Gordon & Crowder on Harley and Drummond, viz.

1 for	300 : 0 : 0	
1	325 : 0 : 0	
1	1200 : 0 : 0	first Set
1 for	<u>174 : 7 : 5</u>	
	£1999 : 7 : 5	Sterling

Inclosed is a Rebel Paper or two

I have no Time to write to any Body but Lord Geo Germain. Excuse Haste

NEW YORK May 12. 1782.

DEAR SIR

I writ to you on the 6th of Nov. inclosing a first set of Bills of Exchange for 1999 : 7 : 5. Sterling, and sent the second set in a letter dated the 6th of December last since which not having had the pleasure of receiving a line from you I have been some times apprehensive that they must by some accident have both miscarried, though I find that the vessels by which they were sent are safely arrived; I am the more concerned at not hearing from you on this subject, as it prevents my being able to inform the gentleman, Mr Bonnel, to whom the money

belongs, in what manner it has been disposed of. Be so good as to let me know as soon as possible, whether you placed it in the Funds, in his name agreeable to my request.

I likewise wrote to you on the 11th of May, 1781, requesting that you would place in the Funds, in my name, about three hundred or 350 Pounds Sterling of the money belonging to me in your hands, but not having heard from you since your letter of the 2nd of May, 1781, I am quite ignorant whether or not you complied with my request.

I was encouraged to take the liberty of giving you this trouble for myself and Mr. Bonnel, from the kind offer in one of your former letters to transact any business I should recommend to your care, but perhaps from the multiplicity of your own business it may prove inconvenient to you to attend to my small matters: Should this be the case I shall be obliged to you, if you would recommend some proper person to me for the purpose.

If I am not mistaken there must be on the 5th of last month £368 : 15 : 0. remaining in your hands of my money provided you have placed the £300 above mentioned into the Funds, and paid the £50 bill I drew upon you in June last; if so I should be glad to have £300 more placed in the funds, and the remaining 68 : 15 : 0. to continue in your hands till I shall draw for it.

I have wrote fully to the new Ministry, and to Mr Galloway, my sentiments respecting public affairs on this side of the Atlantic. What I have wrote to the latter, I expect you will see of course, how you stand with the former I know not. Since my letters to them were closed, we have received the agreeable news of Sir Geo. Rodney's⁴⁷ success in the West Indies, this will prove a heavy disappointment to the rebels, for they fully relied upon

⁴⁷ George Bridges (1719-1792), a British admiral who defeated the French under De Grasse April 12, 1782, off Dominica, for which he received the thanks of parliament and was raised to the peerage as Lord Rodney.

DeGrasse's Junction with the Spanish fleet, and that after taking Jamaica, the combined fleets would proceed to North America, with such a strong naval force as would give them a decided superiority. It was on this they founded all their hopes of driving us from New York and Charlestown and establishing their independency. They will not now be able to raise an army for the ensuing campaign, and were it not that our new General⁴⁸ is restrained by the very extraordinary Resolves of the House of Commons, he might easily, with the force now under his command, put an end to the Rebellion in less than three months. There never was a more glorious opportunity for striking a decisive stroke against Washington, who may in fact be said to have no army at all, when compared to the force that may be safely drawn out of this garrison, especially as there is now no apprehension of the arrival of a French force this summer. But alas, your infatuated rulers have tied up the hands of your army and sent over a General not impowered to avail himself of circumstances as they arise, but on the contrary, ordered to make almost unconditional submission, and prostrate the honor of Great Britain at the feet of a Banditti. *Inter nos*—Is it not astonishing that a man of sense and spirit would consent to be put in a situation so extremely degrading?—This paragraph entirely confidential.

I am, with my best regards to Mrs. Strahan

Dear Sir

Your faithful and
affectionate hum. servant.

WM. FRANKLIN.

P. S. After perusing the inclosed news-papers please to send them to Mr. Galloway—also the packet for him which I have put under cover to you.

⁴⁸ Guy Carleton (1724–1808), afterwards Lord Dorchester, succeeded Sir Henry Clinton as Commander-in-Chief of the British army in America after the surrender of Cornwallis.

ORDERLY BOOK OF THE
SECOND PENNSYLVANIA CONTINENTAL LINE
COL. HENRY BICKER.

At Valley Forge, March 29,—May 27, 1778.

EDITED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

(Continued from page 342.)

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE March 30th

Brigadier Poor,²²
Field Officers, Lt. Co^l. Buford²³ & Major Porter,
Brigade Major M'Cormick.²⁴

The Gen^l Court Martial whereof Co^l Ogden²⁵ was president, is dissolved, and another ordered to sit tomorrow at 10 o'clock at the usual place, whereof Co^l Vose²⁶ is appointed president; to try all persons that shall be brought before them; each Brigade gives a Cap^t to the Court. A Sub., Sarg^t and two privates from Gen^l M'Intosh's Brigade,²⁷ furnished with three days provisions,

²² *Enoch Poor*, Col. 2 N. H. Infantry, was promoted Brig. Gen. Cont. Army Feby. 21, 1777.

²³ *Abraham Buford*, Major 14 Virginia Nov. 1776; Lieut. Col. 5 Va., April 1777; Colonel May 1778; transferred 11 Va. 1778; transferred to 3 Va. 1781. Died June 30 1833.

²⁴ *Henry McCormick*, Brigade Major 1st Brig. Penna. Line.

²⁵ *Matthias Ogden*, served as a volunteer in the Canada Expedition, and was wounded in the assault on Quebec, Dec. 31, 1775. Commissioned Lieut. Col. 1 New Jersey Line, March 1776; Colonel Jany. 1777: taken prisoner at Elizabethtown N. J. Oct 5, 1780. Granted leave of absence to visit Europe, April 1783. Brevet Brig. General Sept. 1783. Died March 31, 1791.

²⁶ *Joseph Vose*, Lieut. Col. 24 Continental Infantry, Jany. 1777; Col. 1 Mass. 1777; Brevet Brig. Gen. Sept. 1783; served to Nov. 1783. Died May 22, 1816.

²⁷ *Lachlan McIntosh* succeeded to the command of the North Carolina troops, on the death of Gen. Francis Nash; mortally wounded at battle of Germantown.

to attend at the Clothier's Store tomorrow A.M., to receive the Commissary of Prisoners directions.

As the operations of the ensuing Campaign whether offensive or defensive, renders it indispensibly necessary that the spare baggage of the Army should be at a distance from their Camp, and may be inconvenient & impracticable for want of teams to remove it at the instant it may become absolutely Requisite, the Gen^l. desires that the Officers will loose no time in disengaging themselves from Everything they can possibly part with. On the means for removing it, they will consult the Quater Master Gen^l, who may have empty Waggon's returning from Camp.

At a Gen^l Court Martial whereof Co^l Swift²⁸ was president, March y^e 23rd, 1778, Lieut. Col. Perginer trye'd for disobedience of Orders and refusing to do duty when required by his superior Officer in a state unbecoming an inferior officer, and was acquitted of the charge exhibited against him with honour, which his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief approves the sentence and orders Lt. Co^l Perginer to be discharged from his Arrest.

B: G: O.

Adj^t of the Day tomorrow, from the 1st Reg^t

Detail for Guard.

	<i>C :</i>	<i>Sub:</i>	<i>S:</i>	<i>C:</i>	<i>P.</i>
2 ^d Reg ^t	0 :	0 :	1 :	1 :	5.
Fatigue.	0 :	0 :	1 :	0	2.
B. F.	0 :	0 :	2 :	0	7.
	0 .	0 .	4 .	2 .	15.

²⁸ *Heman Swift*, Col. Conn. State Regiment 1776; Col. 7 Conn. Jany. 1777; transferred to 2 Conn. Jany. 1781; retained as Colonel of the Consolidated Regiment, June 1783. Brevet Brig. General Sept. 30, and served to December 1783.

March 31st 1778.*Division Order.*

A Return to be immediately made by each Reg^t of the number of Hatts Britches, Hoes, Stockings and Waist-coats wanting for the men—A quantity of them articles being now arrived at Gen^l Wayne's Quaters for the immediate use of his Division.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE March 31st 1778.

Brigader for tomorrow M^oIntosh,
Field Officers, L^t Co^l Rignier, Major Camble,
Brigade Major Benyane.

Germantown being appointed for the meeting of Commissioners²⁹ from the two Army's a strict Neutrality and suspension of hostilities are to be observed in all the extent of the Village and all Officers whether Continental, or Militia are expressly forbid to enter there either with their parties or singly, or to do any thing that may tend any wise to violate the peace which is to subsist in the above-mentioned place until further orders.

By permission of the Honourable Congress the Paymaster Gen^l has appointed Tho^s. Reed Esq., to be his Assistant; and he is to be considered as such, and the business of that Department in the absence of the Pay Master Gen^l to be transacted with him.

Adjutant of the Day for tomorrow, from the Seventh Reg^t.

Detail for Guard

	C:	S:	S:	C:	P.
2 ^d Reg ^t	0	1 :	1 .	1 :	6
Fatigue	0 :	0 :	0 :	0 :	2
B. F.	0 :	0 :	1 :	0 :	7.
	0 .	1 .	2 .	1 .	15.

²⁹For notes of Elias Boudinot's meeting of the Commissioners, see PENNA. MAG. HIST. and BIOG., Vol. xxiv, p. 291.

Brigade Orders March 31, 1778.

The Brigade to parade tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock, fresh shaved, well powdered; it is expected that the Officers will pay the strictest attention to the appearance of their men.

The Fatigue party to parade to morrow morning properly officer'd at Troop Beating, to finish the works.

JAMES CHAMBERS,

Co¹ Comm^{ds} B.

HEAD QUARTERS April 1st 1778.

Brigadier Patterson,
Field Officers Lt. [Col.] Breerly,³⁰ Major Allison,
Brigade Major Bayley

Some Brigades were late sending their men on the parade this morning: the Gen^l willing to attribute this to the difference in Watches, and to the end great punctuality may be observed in future with respect to time, the Adjutant Gen^l is to regulate his watch by the Clock at Head Quaters, the Brigade Major by his, and the Adjutant by the Brigade Major; The Guard at the Bridge [Sullivan's] is in future to consist of a Captain, two subalterns, three Serg^{ts}, 36 rank and file, whereof one sub. One serg^t and 16 rank and file are to be posted on the other side; it is expected that this Guard will be very attentive to their duty and suffer no soldier to pass without written leave from the Comm^{ds} Officer of the Reg^t he belongs to,

B: O:

Adjutant of the Day tomorrow, from the 10th Reg^t

³⁰ *David Brearly*, Lieut. Col. 4 New Jersey Infantry; Colonel 1 New Jersey. Resigned Aug. 4, 1778. Served also as Colonel New Jersey Militia. Died Aug. 16, 1790.

Detail for Guard.

		C:	Sub:	S:	C:	P.		P
1 st	Reg ^t	0	0	2	1	11	Fatigue	3
2 ^d	do.	0	0	1	0	6		2
7 th	do.	1	0	1	1	8		4
10 th	do.	0	1	1	1	6		2
1 : 1 : 5 : 3 : 31.								11

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE April 2^d 1778.

Brigadier Maxwell.

Field Officers, Co^l Bicker, Lieut Co^l Hubley³¹

Brigade Major Haskell,³²

A soldier from each Brigade acquainted with driving a Waggon, to be paraded to-morrow morning at Guard Mounting & to be employed in the Waggon Master Gen^l Department till the Waggoners enlisted for that purpose come to Camp.

The Inspector of the First Penn^a Brigade, will command the parade to-morrow and will bring with him two Adjutants from the Brigade, and when the parade is over remit the command for the next day to the Inspector of the 2^d Penns^a Brigade, and his two Adjutants, who are desired to attend the parade to morrow for that purpose, the same method to be observed in regular rotation. The Inspector Gen^l. proposes exercising the Officers of the Second Penna. Brigade at 10 o'clock to morrow, and at 11 o'clock those of Gen^l Poor's Brigade. As the stumps and brush in front of the new lines, afford an excellent obstacle to the approach of the enemy, it is expressly forbid that any of it should be burned by any

³¹ Adam Hubley, for memoir and journal see PENNA. MAG. HIST. & BIOG., Vol. xxxiii et seq.

³² Elnathon Haskell, 1st Lieut. and Adjutant 14 Mass. Capt. April, 1778, Brigade Major; transferred 4 Mass. Jany. 1781, Aide de Camp to Gen. Howe 1782, Bvt. Major Sepr., 1783. Served to June, 1784.

of the Fatigue parties or any others, for the distance of extream musquet shot range in front of the lines, in which all officers commanding Reg^{ts} are to take particular notice, as there is a sufficiency of wood to furnish stakes for the works within the lines.

Co^l Josias Carvill Hall³³ tried by a Gen^l Court Martial held at Willmington, the 20th of March 1778, by order of Brigadier Genl Smallwood, whereof Col. Richardson³⁴ was president, charged of refusing to comply with a Gen^l Order issued on an emergency and calculated to aid the Service, which at that time could not otherwise be remedied, and unofficerlike behaviour & threatening to blow the brains out of any officer who would head a party to execute the same, and was acquitted on the following terms; that the orders issued on that instant was not Military, nor conveyed through a Military Channel in the nature of an Impresment not even addressed to Co^l Hall, was an absolute confession that he had not a right to expect, nor exact a compliance to the order by virtue of superior command; and with respect to the second charge, altho' the Court do, by no means approve of Co^l Hall's intention or threats resisting by force the Officers sent to execute the order, yet as they can easily account for it. from the keen and sensible feeling of a person in his situation, and as a few moments of cool reflection determined him to act otherwise, we acquit him of ungentlemanly, or unofficer-like behaviour, & are upon the whole unanimously of opinion, that he is not guilty of the Charges exhibited against him; and therefore, acquit him with Honour.

It is with much concern that his Excellency thinks himself obliged to disapprove the Determination; he is clearly of opinion, that the orders issued through Co^l

³³ *Josias Carvill Hall*, Colonel 2 Maryland Battalion of the Flying Camp 1776; Col. 4 Maryland Line Dec. 1776. Retired Jany. 1781.

³⁴ *William Richardson*, Colonel 4 Maryland Battalion of Flying Camp 1776. Colonel 5 Maryland Line Dec. 1776. Resigned Oct. 22, 1779.

Sheriffs Division Quater Master was regular and obligatory, regular because Gen^l Smallwood as Commanding Officer to be exclusively vested with every power for the good of it and consequently that Impressing of horses on an emergency and because the Division Q^r Master, was a proper channel through which it would operate, agreeable to the practice of Armies, and to the true spirit and design of Gen^l orders; obligatory because it was the orders of the superior Comm^{ds} officer, and from the face of the evidence, appears to have been founded in the necessity of the Case; and uncalculated to promote the service; Co^l Hall's refusal to comply with the order, was a blamable opposition to the Command of a superior officer acting in the line of his Duty & the violent threats thrown out against any person who should execute it, were at least highly indelicate and improper. Co^l Hall is released from his arrest.

At a Gen^l Court Martial whereof Col. Swift was president, March 28th 1778, Major Thomas Forrest³⁵ tried for sending to Co^l Crane,³⁶ Commanding Officer of Artillery, an insolent and unwarranted letter, it appeared to the Court, that Major Forrest was president of a Court Martial when he wrote the letter he was arrested for, and was done by order of the Court, they are of opinion, that he is not personally liable for writing the letter; at the same time are of opinion, having considered the circumstances, that the letter is not insolent nor unwarrantable; The Commander-in-Chief confirms the opinion and orders Major Forrest to be discharged from arrest.

³⁵ *Thomas Forrest*, was commissioned Captain, Proctor's Battalion Penna. Artillery, Oct. 1776; promoted Major 4 Continental Artillery, Febry. 1777; Lieut. Colonel Dec. 1778. Resigned Oct. 7, 1781. After filling some local positions, was member of Congress 1819-1823. Died in Germantown, Philada., March 20, 1825, aged 83 years.

³⁶ *John Crane*, Captain in Gridley's Mass. Artillery, May, 1775; Major in Knox Artillery, wounded at Corlaer's Hook Sept. 14, 1776; Colonel 3 Continental Artillery, Jany. 1777. Brevet Brig. Gen. Sept. 30, 1783, served to Nov. 3, 1783. Died Aug. 21, 1805.

B: O:

The officers Command^g the different Regts is requested to be very particular in having their men turned out under the inspection of their officers between 9 and 10 o'clock in the morning & at the usual hours in the afternoon, to perfect themselves in Manoeuvring.

One of Co^l Hartley's⁸⁷ houses on the Right to be cleared for the reception of the Brigade Guard.

JAS. CHAMBERS,
Co^l Comm^d.

Detail for Guard

	C:	Sub:	S:	C:	P.
1 st Regt	0	1	1	1	11
2 nd do.	0	0	1	1	6
7 th do.	0	0	1	1	8
10 th do.	0	0	2	0	6
	0:	1:	5:	3:	31.

S: P.

0 2

0 1

1 1

0 1

1: 5

	F. Sub:	S:	P.	
1 st Regt	0	1	11	
2 nd do.	1	0	6	Comm ^d
7 th do.	0	0	9	
10 th do.	0	0	6	
	1:	1:	32	

⁸⁷For biographical sketch of Col. Thomas Hartley, see PENNA. MAG. HIST. & BIOG., Vol. xxv, p. 393.

HEAD QUARTERS April 3^d 1778 VALLEY FORGE.

Brigadier Wayne

Field Officers L^t Col. Green³³ and Major Vernon.³⁹Inspector from the 2^d Penna Brigade.

A Sergeant and a private from Gen^l McIntosh's Brigade⁴⁰ prepared for a fortnights Command to be paraded tomorrow morning, at Guard mounting on the Grand parade—the works of the New lines being very carelessly executed in many parts and the representations of the Engineers have been heretofore of no avail, the Gen^l calls upon the several Brigadiers to inspect the parts which have been allotted to their Brigade, and order the defects to be remedied, which appears to be principally owing to the weakness of the stakes, and those of the exterior for being placed two perpendicular. At a Gen^l Court Martial whereof Co^l Ogden was president, March y^r 24th 1778, William Morgan, inhabitant of the State of Penna., Tryed for coming out of Philadelphia, stealing a horse and attempting to carry him back to the City, found Guilty of a breach of a Resolution of Congress dated Octb^r 8th 1777 and extended by another, and sentenced to be kept at hard labour during the contest with Great Britain not less than thirty miles from the enemies Camp, and if he is caught making his escape to suffer Death. At a Gen^l Court Martial whereof Co^l Vose was president, March 23^d 1778, Lieut. Anderson⁴¹ of the 11th Penns^a Reg^t Tryed for behaving in a

³³ *John Green*, Capt. 1 Virginia, Sept. 1775; Major Aug. 1776, wounded at Mamaroneck, Oct. 21, 1776; Lieut. Col. March 1777; Colonel 10 Va. Jan. 1778; transferred to 6 Virginia Sept. 1778.

³⁹ *Frederick Vernon*, Captain 4 Penna. Battalion, Jan. 1776; Captain 5 Penna. Line, Major 8 Penna. Line, June 1777; transferred to 4 Penna. 1781 and to 1 Penna. Jan. 1783, and served to close of the war. Brevet Lieut. Colonel Sept. 30, 1783.

⁴⁰ Site of Gen. McIntosh's headquarters not positively known.

⁴¹ *Enoch Anderson* of Northampton Co. was commissioned First Lieutenant 11 Penna. Line in 1776.

manner unbecoming the Character of an officer and a gentleman found Guilty of the charge exhibited against him, being a breach of the 21st Article 14th Section of the Articles of War & sentenced to be discharged; his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief approves of the sentence and orders them to take place. A Subaltern from Gen^l Woodford's and another from Gen^l Scott's to attend at the Adju^t Gen^l's Office where they will receive their orders at 3 o'clock this afternoon.

B: O:

Adjutant of the Day tomorrow from the first Regt.

Detail for Guard.

	<i>C. Sub:</i>	<i>S:</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P</i>		<i>Sub S</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>P</i>
1 : Reg ^t								
2 : do	1:	0:	2:	1:	6	Fatigue—0:	0:	0: 6

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE April 4, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow Varnum
 Field Officers Co^l Vose and Major Sumner
 Brigade Major Tynick
 Brigade Inspector from Gen^l Poor's Brigade.

The Brigade Commissaries are to make an exact Return of the horns Delivered into the Q^r Master Gen^l agreeable to the Orders of the 8th of Jan^r last, the Brigadier Gen^l of the Day is to visit the prisoners in the Provost, during his tour of Duty and to enquire into the manner of their treatment, which he is to Report with the number and kind of them, and length of confinement, when he gives in the Gen^l Report of the Guard, & announces this to be considered as a standing order and to be punctually executed.

B: O:

Adju^t of the Day tomorrow from the 7th Reg^t.

Detail for Guard.

		C:	Sub:	S:	C:	P.
1 st	Reg ^t	0	0	1	1	10
2 ^d	do	0	0	1	1	6
7 th	do	0	0	1	1	8
10 th	do	0	0	2	0	8
		0:	0:	5:	3:	32:

Division Orders April 4th 1778.

The whole Division to parade on Monday morning at 10 o'clock, fresh shaved, well powdered, arms and Accoutrements in the best order possible; the officers at the head of their respective Corps. It is the Gen^l's positive orders, that all the Invalids be paraded at the same time, and that the Officers take care that they appear clean, and that the whole are paraded. The Gen^l being determined to examine every man himself, to the end that If any of the soldiers are suffering for want of necessaries or proper care or attention, either in the Officers or Surgeons, that these defects may be remedied. The Gen^l wishes the Commanding Officers of Reg^{ts} or Corps, to see that their men are compleated to 40 Rounds per man immediately.

ANTHONY WAYNE⁴² B : G.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE April 5th, 1778.

Brigadier Poor

Field Officers Lieu^t Co^l Meade,⁴³ Major Pollen

Brigade Major Mervin

For Detachment Col. Livingston,⁴⁴ Major Conway,⁴⁵ Inspector from Glover's Brigade.

⁴²For biographical sketch of Gen. Wayne, see PENNA. MAG. HIST. AND BIOG., Vol. xxxii, p. 257 *et seq.*

⁴³Matthew Mead, Capt. 5 Conn. May 1775, wounded at St. Johns, Canada, Sept. 16, 1775; Major, Silliman's Conn. State Regiment, June 1776; Lieut. Colonel 5 Conn. Jany. 1777. Resigned May 25, 1778.

⁴⁴Henry Beekman Livingston, Colonel 4 New York Line, resigned Jany. 13, 1779. Died Nov. 5 1831.

⁴⁵John Conway, Capt. 1 New Jersey 1775, wounded at Germantown, Major 4 N. J. 1777; to 3 N. J. 1778; Lieut. Col. 1 N. J. 1779; retired Jany. 1781.

The Brigade Inspector's Brigade Major's and all the Adjutants of the Battalions, are to attend on the Grand parade tomorrow at Guard Mounting; if the weather should prove bad they shall attend the first fair day. No furloughs to be granted to Non-Commis^d Officers or privates till further orders. Those Reg^{ts} that want shoes are to attend at the Clothier's Store for them: few dozen of Worsted Stocks fit for officers and some shoes, may be had at the store. For Escort with two Days provisions to parade at 11 o'clock tomorrow.

Adjutant of the Day tomorrow from the 10th Reg^t.

Detail for Guard.

	<i>C.</i>	<i>Sub.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
1 st Reg ^t		1	1	0	11
2 ^d do			2	1	6
7 th do			1	1	8 Weeks
10 th do			1	1	8 Comm ^d

	<i>C:</i>	<i>Sub:</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>P.</i>
1 st Reg ^t	1	0:	0	6
2 ^d do		1	1	3
7 th do		1	0	5
10 th do		0	:	5

Fatigue.

	<i>C:</i>	<i>Sub.</i>	<i>S:</i>	<i>C:</i>	<i>P.</i>
2 ^d Reg ^t					1

Division Orders April 6th 1778.

The hair of all the Non-Commis^d officers and privates to be cut short and alike; this afternoon the Comm^d officers of Reg^{ts}, and Corps, will pay a particular attention to this business, as it will not only be a means of keeping the men clean, but will make them appear more uniform and soldierly, and be attended with much less trouble.

Notwithstanding the repeated orders for officers to take care to oblige their men to appear clean and decent on all occasions, the Gen^l is extremely unhappy to find so little attention paid to it, when the health, and spirit of the soldiers, & the good of the service, so much depends on a strict compliance with this Order.

Gen^l Wayne once for all does assure the Officers that attention to their soldiers & Discipline will be the criterion by which Congress will be directed on the New Establishment, he therefore wishes for their own credit as officers & soldiers, that they would turn their whole attention to these objects; shoes and other articles for Officers and men, may be had at the Clothiers Gen^l on timely application.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE April 6th, 1778.

Brigadier Mulinberg⁴⁶

Field Officers, Col. Wessen,⁴⁷ Lt. Col. Haskell⁴⁸

Brigade Major Minnes

Inspector from Gen^l Arnold's Brigade.

Lieut. Col. [John] Green, is appointed to the Comm^d of the 10th, and Lieut. Col. [William] Daviss to the Comm^d of the 14th Virginia Reg^t to further orders, and are to be respected accordingly.

At a Gen^l Court Martial whereof Col. Vose was president, March 31st 1778, Lieut. Dunn⁴⁹ of Col. Pattons⁵⁰

⁴⁶ For biographical sketch of Gen. Muhlenberg see PENNA. MAG. HIST. AND BIOG., Vol. xxxiii, p. 257. Gen. Muhlenberg was quartered at the house of John Moore, which is still standing.

⁴⁷ James Wesson, Colonel 9 Mass. Infantry: wounded at Monmouth June 28, 1778; retired Jan. 1, 1781; died Oct. 15, 1809.

⁴⁸ Henry Haskell, Lieut. Col. 15th Mass. Infantry.

⁴⁹ Abner M. Dunn, Ensign 2 Penna. Battalion, Col. St. Clair, Nov. 1776; Lieut. McLane's Partisan Co., of Delaware 1777; Lieut 9 Penna., transferred to 5 Penna., 2 Penna. and 1 Penna. Infantry served to Nov. 1783.

⁵⁰ John Patton, born in Sligo, Ireland, settled in Philadelphia, commissioned Major 2 Battalion 1776; participated in the battle of Long Island; appointed by Washington, Jan. 11, 1777, to command one of the sixteen additional regiments recruited in Penna., New Jersey and Delaware. Resigning from the army, he was employed in purchase of flour for the troops. Subsequently engaged in the iron business with Col. Samuel Miles and built iron furnaces in Centre Co. Pa., where he died in 1804. Col. Patton was six feet in height, of fine appearance and polished manners.

Reg^t Tryed for strikeing & ungentleman like Behaviour and acquitted, the Commander-in-Chief confirms the sentence and orders L^t Dunn to be discharged from arrest. At the same time the frequent proceedings of Court Martials presented to him seem to originate from personal prejudices and private animosity than real intention to promote the good of the service, gives him very sensible pain; he wishes the Officers of this Army to consider themselves as a band of Brothers cemented by the Justice of the Common Cause: that a perfect harmony might subsist among them, and that they would settle all personal disputes amongst themselves in an amicable manner ever being cautious not to trouble Court Martials or the Gen^l with private dicentions, or add to the publick files; which may hereafter disgrace themselves and the Army.

B: O:

Adjut^t of the Day from the Second Reg^t—

Detail for Guard.

	<i>Cap.</i>	<i>Sub.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>G.</i>	<i>P.</i>
1 st Reg ^t	0	0	1	1	10
2 ^d do	0	0	1	1	6
7 th do	0	1	1	1	8
10 th do	0	0	2	0	8

0: 1: 5: 3: 32.

	<i>S.</i>	<i>P.</i>	<i>Cum^d</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>P.</i>
<i>Fatigue</i>	0	1		1:	3
1 st Regt	0	0		0	—
2 nd do		1		1	1
7 th do		0			2
10 th do		1			2

0: 3: 2: 8

HEAD QUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE, April 7, 1778.

Major Gen^l to Morrow

Brigadier Patterson

Field Officers . Col. Craig,⁵¹ Lt. Col. Maybien

Brigade Maj^r Clayburn

Inspector from Gen^l Patterson's Brigade.

For Fatigue Lt. Col. Miller⁵²

A Gen^l Court Martial of the line whereof Brig. Gen^l⁵³ Poor is appointed President to set to-morrow morn'g at nine o'clock at the presidⁿ Quar^r to try such persons as shall be bro^t before them.

Col. Stewart,⁵⁴ Lt Col Burr,⁵⁵ Major Peters⁵⁶ & a Capt

⁵¹ *Thomas Craig*, a member of the well known family of the name from the north of Ireland, who settled in the vicinity of Lehigh Gap, Penna., about 1733. He entered the service as Captain 2 Penna. Battalion, Col. A. St. Clair, Jany. 1776, and participated in the Canada campaign. On Sept. 7, 1776, commissioned Lieut. Col. 3 Penna. Line, Col. Joseph Wood, on whose resignation, Col. Craig was promoted Aug. 1, 1777, to command the regiment. In Jany. of 1778, the 12 Penna. was incorporated with the Third. Col. Craig commanded the regiment in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth, and accompanied Gen. Wayne in the Southern Campaign. He retired in Jany. of 1783. After the war he was appointed Major General of the 7th Division Penna. Militia. Col. Craig was a strict disciplinarian, brave, quick to conceive and prompt to execute, and courteous and affable in his manners. He died in 1832, at the advanced age of 92 years.

⁵² *Henry Miller*, of Penna., 1st Lieut. Thompson's Penna. Rifle Battl'n June 1775. His company was the first to reach Boston, south of the Hudson River. Promoted Capt. Oct. 1775; Capt. 1 Penna. Line Jany. 1776, Major March 1777; Lieut. Col. 2 Penna. Line, March, 1777. Resigned Dec. 8, 1778; died April 5, 1824.

⁵³ Gen. Poor was quartered in the house of John Beaver, now owned by the Wood family: the house has been remodelled.

⁵⁴ For biographical sketch of Col. Walter Stewart, see PENNA. MAG. HIST. and BIOG. Vol. xxii, pp. 57, 265.

⁵⁵ *Aaron Burr*, served as a volunteer in the Canadian campaign; aide-de-camp to Gen. Putnam; Lieut. Col. of Malcolm's Additional Regt. 4 Jany. 1777; resigned March 3, 1779. For a time Col. Burr was in command of the outpost at the Gulph Mill.

⁵⁶ *Andrew Peters*, of Mass., Capt. Reed's Mass. Regt. 1775; Capt. 13 Cont. Inf. Jany. 1776, Major 2 Mass. Jany. 1777; Lieut. Col. 15 Mass. July, 1779; resigned Nov. 26, 1779. Died Feb. 5, 1822.

from the Corps of the Artillery; Woodford's, Scott's, First & Sec^d Penn^a; Glover's Patterson's, Millinburgh's, Maxwell's, Huntingden's, Varnum's & Mackintosh's Brigade's to attend as Members.

Capt Will^m Lewis⁵⁷ is appointed Brigade Inspector in Gen^l Millenburgh's Brigade & Capt. Croghan⁵⁸ in Gen. Scott's, and are to be respected accordingly.

The Brigade Q^r Mastⁿ will immediately bring in the empty Ammunition boxes to the Park of the Artillery & Deliver them to the Commisary of Military Stores.

An Exact Return of Arms & Accoutrements to be made immediately according to the form which shall be Deliver'd by the Brigade Majors.

Commanding Officers of the Reg^t & Corps are Desir'd to be very Particular in the next Weekly returns, to Acc^t for all their Officers & Men who are Absent, Sick, on Furlough or Command, and the places where, that proper Measures may be taken to call them in to Join their Respective Corps. The Gen^l strictly enjoins it upon them to be exceedingly Exact to Mention those Officers in any Department who detain any of their Soldiers as waiters or for any purpose whatsoever, and any particular Circumstance relative to their absence, as his first Determination is that he will know the true state of his Army.

A few Continental Tickets to be had at the Auditor's Office and at the paymaster Gen^l's Office.

B. O.

Adj^t of the Day to Morrow from 1st Reg^t.—A Capt From the 7th Reg^t to attend the Court Martial of the Line to Morow Nine o'clock at Gen^l Poor's Quaters.

Guard	2 Reg ^t	C:	S:	S:	C:	P.	Fat.	Priv.
	0	0	1.	1.	6.			2

⁵⁷ *William Lewis*, 1 Lieut. 1 Va., Oct. 1775; Capt. Sept. 1776; Major 10 Va., May 1779; taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., May 1780; transf'd 3 Va. in 1781, and served to the close of the war. Died 1811.

⁵⁸ *William Croghan*, Capt. 8 Va. April 1776; Major 8 Va., May 1778; to 4 Va., Sept. 1778; taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C. May 1780, on parole to close of war.

HEAD QUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE, April 8, 1778.

Brigadier Tomorrow Maxwell⁵⁹

Field Officers . . Col. Brewer,⁶⁰ Maj^r Winslow⁶¹

Brig^d Maj^r Ogden⁶²

Inspector from Weedon's Brig^d.

A Review of the Orders Relative to the Cleanliness and proper Appearance of Soldiers who are to mount guard, however great a reproach to the Officers, whose province is to attend to these points, it becomes necessary that the Adj^t in whom the Delinquents originates as it is their Duty in the first instance to Inspect Arms, Ammunitions, Accoutrements & Dress of their men before they Quit the Reg^t Parade, are particularly call'd upon; The Brigade Majors minutely to examine the detachments Assembled on the parade of the Brigade in all the above mentiond Respects and the Adj^t will remain there till the men are march'd off in Order to answer for any Deficiency.

When the Guards are Assembl'd on the grand parade the Brig^e Maj^r, Field Officers of the Day are carefully to report the same examination of the arms &c. and to order the Adj^t under an Arrest when any ill appearances or Deficiency's may justly be attributed to their negligence. Want of Uniformity in a Soldier's Clothing and its indifferent Quality, so far from excusing Sloveliness and unsoldierly Neglect, in other respects ought rather to Excite each man to compensate each man by redouble attention to the means he has in his power. For instances—a Soldier may always shave his beard, appear with clean hands and face, in Gen^l have an air of Neatness which will be Conspicuous under all Disadvantages.

A Court of Enquiry whereof Lt Col. Hubley's appointed Pres^t to sit tomorr^w morning nine o'clock at the pres^t Quar^s to examine into a complaint exhibited by an

⁵⁹ William Maxwell of New Jersey. Col. 2 N. J. Line, Nov. 1775; Brigadier General Cont. army Oct. 23, 1776; resigned July 25, 1780. Died Nov. 12, 1798.

⁶⁰ Samuel Brewer Col. 4 Mass Line.

⁶¹ Nathaniel Winslow, Capt. in Thomas' Mass Regt 1775; Capt. 10 Mass Line, Nov. 1776; Major Nov. 1777; resigned Oct. 26, 1780.

⁶² Aaron Ogden, Brig. Major of Maxwell's Brigade.

inhabitant of this State against Cap^t Chambers⁶³ of the 12th Penn^a Reg^t Maj^r Lydald & a Cap^{tn} from Glover's, Conway's & Huntingdon's Brig^s.

B. O.

The Officers commanding Reg^{ta} is requested to pay the strictest attention to the condition of the Sick, appoint a Weekly Officer to visit the Barracks & see that they have beds raised off the Ground & that their situation may be made as Comfortable as circumstances will admitt, with the condition of the troops much depends on the strict attention of the Officers to the Cleanliness of the men, it is therefore expected they will use every endeavour to make their men appear in as decent a manner as possible.

J^a CHAMBERS, COL COMM^d.

Detail for Guard.

Adj^t of the day to-morrow, from y¹ 7th Regt.

C:	S:	S:	C:	P.
0	0	2	1	6

No Fatigue.

A Regimental Court Martial to sit this morning whereof Cap^t Patterson⁶⁴ is to be president, to Try all Prisoners brought before them belonging to the 2^d Penny Reg^t.

April 9th 1778

Lieut. Stoy ⁶⁵	} members	Lieut. Waggoner. ⁶⁷
Lieut. Percy ⁶⁶		

⁶³ *Stephen Chambers*, attorney-at-law, of Lancaster, Pa., was commissioned 1 Lieut., 12 Penna. Line, Oct., 1776; Captain, March, 1777; retired July 1, 1778. In 1783 he was appointed a member of Council of Censors, and in 1787 a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. He was mortally wounded, May 11, 1789, in a duel with Dr. Jacob Riegner, formerly Surgeon of the Penna. Rifle Battalion, Col. Samuel Miles, and died five days later. He was a member of the Penna. State Society of the Cincinnati. His sister Jane married Hon. John Joseph Henry, President Judge of the Second Judicial District of Penna. and the author of "Campaign against Quebec."

⁶⁴ *John Patterson*, appointed by Gen. Gates 2 Lieut. 1 Penna. Battl'n. Col. John P. de Haas, July, 1776; Adjutant in Canada Campaign; Capt. 2 Penna. Line Jan., 1777; retired from the service Jan. 1, 1783; died 1790.

⁶⁵ *John Stoy*, 1 Lieut. 2 Penna. Line, promoted Captain-Lieutenant May, 1780, and retired from the service Jan. 1, 1781.

⁶⁶ *Henry Piercy*, of Philada., appointed for the Flying Camp 2 Lieut. 2 Penna. Line, Feb., 1777; 1 Lieut. March, 1777; assigned to 3 Penna. Line, Jan., 1783.

⁶⁷ *Henry Waggoner*, 2 Lieut. 2 Penna. Line, was promoted 1 Lieut. March 1779, and resigned May 3, 1779.

Division Orders 9th April 1778.

His Excellency Governor Wharton having requested that an additional number of Officers be sent on the Recruiting service, two industrious and active Officers are to parade from each Reg^t at Gen^l Wayne's Quarters⁶⁸ tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock to proceed immediately to Lancaster⁶⁹ on that business, the encouragement given to Officers and men is such, that these now meet with great success, and the Gen^l has the most Flattering hopes of seeing the Penny^a Regts soon Compleated—in case the Officers do their Duty, the neglect and little attention paid to the repeated orders for Manovering the Troops by some of this Division obliges the Gen^l to Order the Brigade Inspectors to Report Such Officers or Corps as do not attend the parade at the hours appointed for that purpose, which is from nine to ten in the morning and from 4 to 5 o'clock in the afternoon & to the end that neither Officers or soldier may thereafter plead ignorance of orders—the orders of the day are in future to be Read, at the head of each Reg^t at Retreat beating, when every Officer, and Soldier will punctually attend—this is to be considered as a standing order. The Gen^l once more desires that Hooks may be fixed to place the Arms against every day.

The Court of Enquiry whereof Lt Col. Hubley, is president is to enquire into a charge against Capt McGowen of the 4th Penna. Reg^t for accidentally wounding Patrick Cole, a soldier belonging to his company and of which wound its thought he died; all evidences and parties concerned are to attend at the presidents Quarters tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

⁶⁸ The Headquarters of Gen. Wayne was at the house of Joseph Walker, still standing, and owned by descendants of the name.

⁶⁹ Lancaster throughout the war was an important post for military stores and the manufacture of arms and accoutrements, and the county a section in which recruiting was generally successful.

HEAD QUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE, April 9, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow Wayne
 Field Officers, Col Rich. Butler,⁷⁰ Lt. Col. Farmer⁷¹
 Brigade Major McCormick
 Inspector from Genl Mulinburg's Brigade.

An addition to the orders of yesterday for the purpose of effecting Decency and Cleanliness of the men, the Commander-in-Chief informs the Serg^{ts} and Corp^s of the Line and desires that it may be deeply impress'd upon them, that unless they exert themselves to the utmost, to bring about this desirable change (as far as the circumstances of Clothing will admit), and the same time by a conduct & example which ought to distinguish them from privates, endeavour to preserve Order Regularity and Obedience; every Delinquent among without exception shall be Reduced to the Ranks & others appointed until good ones can be had to discharge their respective Duties properly. Nothing does nor nothing can contribute more to the health of the Soldiers, than a Clean Camp, Clean Clothes and Vituals well dressed; these however, deeply involv'd in Rags an army may be; are to be effected by attention in the Officers, the Gen^l therefore calls on every Officers from the Major Gen^l to the Corporal for their exertion, hoping therefore, by the Blessing of God, to prevent such Numbers of Deaths which unfortunately has happened since we came to this ground, and see a stricter Attention to order than has heretofore been paid.

The Court of Enquiry whereof Lt. Col. Hubley is president to examine into the circumstances of Cap^t McGowan's mortally wounding a soldier of the 4th Penns^a Reg^t.

⁷⁰ For biographical sketch of Col. Richard Butler, of the Penna. Line, see PENNA. MAG. HIST. AND BIOG. Vol. vii, p. 7.

⁷¹ *Lewis Farmer*, of Philada., commissioned Capt. Penna. Rifle Battl'n. Col. Samuel Miles, April, 1776; wounded at battle of Long Island; 1st Major State Regiment of Foot, March, 1777; Lieut. Col. 13 Penna. Line, Col., Walter Stewart.

<i>Detail etc.—</i>		<i>Fatigue.</i>					<i>Detachmt</i>							
<i>Guards</i>		<i>C:</i>	<i>Sub:</i>	<i>S:</i>	<i>C:</i>	<i>P:</i>	<i>C:</i>	<i>Sub:</i>	<i>S:</i>	<i>P:</i>	<i>C:</i>	<i>S:</i>	<i>S:</i>	<i>P:</i>
1 st	Reg ^t	0	0	2	1	11	1	0	0	5	0	0	0	1
2 ^d	do	0	1	1	1	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1
7 th	do	0	0	1	0	8	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	1
10 th	do	0	0	1	1	8	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1
		0:	1:	5:	3:	33	0:	1:	0:	14	0:	1:	0:	4.

Adj^t of the Day to morrow from the 10th Reg^t.

HEAD QUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE, April 10th, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow Varnum⁷²

Field Officers . Col. Seely⁷³ & L^t Col. Simmons

Brigade Major Baraian⁷⁴

Inspector from Gen^l Maxwell's Brigade.

Whereas many inconveniences arise, in settling the Recruiting Accounts of the Army for want of the Officers being acquainted with mode of stating said accompts, the Commanding Officers of each Regiment & Corps is therefore requested to apply to the Auditors of the Army who will furnish them with blank forms by which that business will be much facilitated, and render the adjustment of their accompts both simple and easy, in order that if difficulties may arise from multiplicity of accompts the Auditor requests the Officers Comm'd'g Reg^{ts} and Corps to cause the respective Officers of their Reg^{ts} who have been employed in the Recruiting service to produce their Recruiting Accompts which should be calculated in form of an Abstract, that the whole may appear at view & thereby inable the Auditors immediatly to aquit the said Commanding Officers of Regim^{ts} & Corps

⁷² James M. Varnum, Brig. Gen. Cont. Army Feb. 27, 1777; resigned March 5, 1779. Gen. Varnum was quartered at the house of David Stephens, which is still standing.

⁷³ Query, Col. Joseph Cilley of the 1 New Hampshire.

⁷⁴ John Berrien, Brig. Major N. C. Brigade Jany. 8, 1778.

from the several sums, with which they respectively stand charged.

The increasing warmth of the season requires that the greatest care should be taken to keep the Hutts of the men clean—their bedding air'd every day—the streets & alleys of the Camps free from all kinds of filth—the Commander-in-Chief therefore earnestly requires both the Brigade and Reg^t Officers of the day, to see these duties regularly & punctually performed. All bones & putred meat, dirty straw & any other kinds of filth to be every day collected and burnt. The detachments of Col. Forman's⁷⁵ Reg^t now in Camp to be got in readiness immediately to join their Reg^t in the Jersys.

As marching men by files is an unmilitary appearance & attends to make them march in an unsoldier-like manner, all parties commanded by a Commisioned Officer, are to be marched by Divisions & every Officer commanding a Guard or Detachment will be very attentive to see that his men march properly & when relieved to march his guard etc. back to the Brigade to which they belong: if from several Brigades, he will march them to the Grand Parade before he dismisses them.

At a Gen^l Court Martial whereof Brigadier Gen^l Poor was President—April 8th /78—Col. John Crain tryed for a vexatious & groundless arrest of Forrest, & for speaking disrespectfull of Courts Martial to the prejudice of good of the service of the United States—acquited of a vexatious and groundless arrest against Major Forrest, but found guilty of speaking disrespectfull of Courts Martial to the prejudice of good order of the service of the United States by a breach of article the 5th Section 18 of the Articles of War, and sentenced to be Reprimand in Brigade Orders.

⁷⁵ *David Forman*, Col. N. J. Militia, 1776; Col. of one of the sixteen Additional Cont. Reg^t's Feby.—July, 1778. Brig. Gen., N. J. Militia. Died 1812.

The Commander-in-Chief approves the sentence and orders it to take place to-morrow.

Guard

Regt. C: S: S: C: P.

1 st	0	1	1	1	10	
2 ^d	0	0	1	1	6	Adj ^{ts} for tomorrow from
7 th	0	0	1	0	9	the 2 nd Reg ^t .
10 th	0	0	1	1	7	

0: 1: 4: 3: 32.

HEAD QUARTERS, VALLEY^{*} FORGE, April 11th 1778.

Brigadier Poor
 Field Officers . . L^t Col. Reid⁷⁶ & Major Dickson⁷⁷
 Brigade Major Bayley
 Inspector from Conway's Brigade.

The Gen^l Court Martial whereof Brigadier Gen^l Poor was president is dissolved. The Comm^{dr}-in-Chief earnestly calls, on all Officers to pay the strictest attention to the orders of the 28th of January last, respecting the men's Ammunition and in addition to that order he directs, that when a Non-comms^d Officer or soldier is detected in discharging his piece or otherwise wasting his ammunition the first Commissioned Officer he is brought before, shall order him immediately tyed up and receive 39 lashes on his bare back, & as many soldiers contrary to Good order, often straggle into the woods or byplaces to avoid being detected no soldier for the future to be allowed to carry his arms or accoutrements out of Camp, unless being on duty and whenever the report of a Gun is heard in the vicinity of the Camp the Commanding Officers of the

⁷⁶ *George Reid*, Capt. 1 N. H., 1775; Capt. 5 Cont. Inf. Jany., 1776; Major 1 N. H., Nov., 1776; Lieut. Col. April, 1777; 2 N. H., March, 1778; retired Nov. 17, 1783.

⁷⁷ *Henry Dixon*, Capt. 1 N. C. 1775; Major 3 N. C., 1777; killed at Stono Ferry, June 20, 1779.

Reg^{ts} are desir'd to send out parties, under Non-Comms'd. Officers to apprehend the delinquent and bring him to immediate punishment—the Comm^{ds} Officers of Regts and Corps will see that this order is read to their Officers & men and the Commanders of Companies will be Carefull to inform their men now absent of this order when they return to camp.

At a Gen' Court Martial whereof Col. Vose was president, April the 1st /78, Doct' Vashe⁷⁸ of the 4th New York Reg^t tryed for neglect of Duty, Disobedience of orders and behaving unbecoming a Gentleman and an Officer Using Menasing language to his Col. and spreading false Reports to his prejudice, found not guilty of either the charges exhibited against him and unanimously acquitted with honour; also Ensign Bloomfield⁷⁹ of the 3^d Jersey Reg^t tried by the same Court for conducting in an unofficer unsoldierlike manner in suffering to be surprised by the enemy near their lines. After mature deliberation the Court are unanimously of opinion, that Ensign Bloomfield is Not Guilty of the charges exhibited against him and his conduct far from being unofficer-like, Merits Applause and is worthy of emulation.

The Commander-in-Chief approves of the foregoing opinions of the Court and orders Doct' Vache and Ensign Bloomfield to be immediately discharged from their arrest. At the same Court Ensign Kirk⁸⁰ of Col. Grayson's Reg^t tryed for suffering Major Tylor⁸¹ one of the Officers of the Day to be surprised at his Piquet for permitting

⁷⁸ *John Francis Vascher*, Surgeon 4 N. Y. Feby., 1777; retired Jany. 1, 1781; died Dec. 4, 1807.

⁷⁹ *Jarvis Bloomfield*, private 3 N. J. March, 1777; wounded at German-town; Ensign, Oct. 1777; 2 Lieut. Nov., 1777; Adjutant July, 1780; resigned Oct. 31, 1780.

⁸⁰ *Robert Kirk*, of Virginia, Ensign Grayson's Additional Regt., July 1777; 2 Lieut. April, 1778; transf'd to Col. Gists' regt., April, 1779; retired Jany. 1, 1781; died Aug. 28, 1828.

⁸¹ *Query* Major John S. Tyler of Jackson's Additional Continental Regt., who resigned in March of 1779.

several of his Guard to be asleep with their accouterments off, & for not demanding either the parole or countersign after the Guard was paraded, found Guilty of the charges exhibited against him, and sentenced to be Reprimanded by the Commanding officer of his Reg^t in presence of the Officers of his Corps. The Gen^l approves the sentence and orders it to take place tomorrow.

B. O.

Adj^t of the Day tomorrow from the first Reg^t.

Detail

		C:	sub:	S:	C:	P.
1 st	Reg ^t	0	0	2	1	11
2 ^d	do	0	0	1	1	6
7 th	do	0	0	1	1	8
10 th	do	1	0	1	0	8
		<u>1:</u>	<u>0:</u>	<u>5:</u>	<u>3:</u>	<u>33.</u>

HEAD QUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE, April 12th 1778.

Brigadier Mulinberg
 Field Officers Col. Parker⁸² and L^t Col De Hart.⁸³
 Brigade Major Haskell
 Inspector from Genl Huntington's Brigade.

The Court Martial whereof Col Vose was president, is dissolved, and another ordered to sit tomorrow at 9 o'clock, a. m.: at the usual place whereof Col Craig is appointed president, to try all such prisoners as shall be brought before them. A Cap^t from each Brigade to attend as members; a subaltern from the 2^d Penns^a Brigade to attend at the Adjutant Genls. at 3 o'clock this afternoon when he will receive his orders. The Honorable Congress having thought proper to recommend to the

⁸² Col. Jos. Parker, 5 Va. Line, Muhlenberg's Brigade.

⁸³ Lieut. Col. C. De Hart, 1 N. J., Maxwell's Brigade.

United States of America to set apart Wensday the 23^d instant as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, and at one time, and with one voice, the Righteous Dispensations of Providence may be acknowledged and His goodness and mercy towards us and our arms humbly supplicated, and implored, the Gen^l directs that Day shall also be Religiously observ'd that no work be done thereon, and that the several Chaplains do prepare Discourses, suitable to the occasion.—

The funeral honours, at the interment of Officers will for the future be confined to a solemn procession, of Officers and Soldiers in numbers suitable to the rank of the deceas'd with Revers'd Arms; Firing on these occasions in Camp are to be abolished. At a Gen^l Court Martial whereof Col. Vose was president, April y^e 6th /78, William Meath, matross, in Cap^t Lee's company, Col. Lamb's Reg^t of Artillery, was brought prisoner before the Court, Charg^d with desertion to the enemy. After making deliberation the Court are of opinion he is Guilty of breach of Article y^e 1st, 6th Sect. of the Articles of War, and do sentence him to be hanged until he his dead. The Comm^{dr}-in-Chief approves of the sentence, and orders William M. Meath to be executed next Fryday at 10 o'clock a. m.—

After Order:—Major Nichlas⁸⁴ is this day appointed Field Officer vice Major Dickinson.⁸⁵

B. O.

	<i>C: Sub:</i>	<i>S:</i>	<i>C:</i>	<i>P.</i>	<i>Fatigue</i>
1 st Regt for Guard,	1	1	1	14	5
2 ^d do "	1	1	1	6	2
7 th do "	0	1	0	9	4
10 th do "	0	2	1	7	3
Total	2:	5:	3:	36	14

⁸⁴ *Francis Nichols*, Major 9 Penna. Line, Conway's Brigade.

⁸⁵ *Edmund B. Dickinson*, Major 1 Va. Line, Oct., 1777–June 28, 1778 Muhlenberg's Brigade.

Division Orders April 12th 1778.

Gen^l Wayne esteems it his Duty to inform the Soldiers belonging to his Division that their unworthy Comrades who have basely Deserted their Country and liberty, and have thereby forfeited their liberty and lives and the confidence of Mankind, that those have lately in presence of the Inhabitants of Philadelphia, Col. Frazer,⁸⁶ and many other Gentlemen of Varacity been sent on board bound hand and foot & Forced to the West India Islands, there to serve During life—For the very Enemy despise Desertion, or Deserters, and will not trust them on this ground; well-knowing that the men who have Infamiously Deserted us, will not remain with them, Was it in their power to make their escape—Yet whilst the Gen^l feels the keenest Resentment at these Unworthy men humanity induces him to pity their present wretched Condition which is far worse than Death, being Doomed to perpetual Banishment in hot & sickly Islands, from which there is not the most Distant prospect, of ever Returning, even were they to receive pardon for their past Crimes.

If after this Representation of facts, any Soldier belonging to this Division should be so lost to every Sence of Duty Virtue and feeling as to follow so Bad an Example, the Gen^l would be glad to be rid of such Monsters, conscious that his faithfull fellow soldiers will stand by him in every Visitude of Fortune and as he is determined to partake every fatigue and Danger with them, he also wishes to partake part of their Glory—The Surgeons belonging to this Division are immediately to draw Hospital Stores for the use of the sick, there being plenty to be had on proper application: he also enjoins the tender-

⁸⁶ *Lieut. Col. Persifor Frazer* of the 5 Penna. Line, was a prisoner of war in Philadelphia, shortly before the date of this "Order." For biographical sketch of Col. Frazer see PENNA. MAG. HIST. AND BIOG., vol. xxxi, p. 129, *et seq.*

est and strictest attention to the sick, not only from the Doctr^s but from the Officers to which they belong.

The Clothing of the Soldiers to be examined as in former Orders and no Soldier to carry provisions on his head or back, as it Ruins his Uniform. The whole Division to parade tomorrow at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, in the most neat and soldierlike manner.

ANTHONY WAYNE, B. G.

N. B.

Those who have been relieved of Guard, to parade with others.

HEAD QUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE, April 13, 1778.

Brigadier	Patterson
Field Officers . Lt. Col Grey & Major Moore ⁸⁸	
Brigade Major	Seely ⁸⁹
Inspector from Gen ^l Varnum's Brigade.	

The Gen^l Officers are desired to meet at Lord Stirling's⁹⁰ Quaters at 10 o'clock next Wednesday morning.

The Gen^l Court Martial which is as ordered to sit this day, will sit tomorrow at the time & place mentioned in yesterdays orders & strict inquire to be made into the reason of non-attendance if any member warned.

At a Gen^l Court Martial whereof Col. Vose was president, April 14th '78, Philip Culp an inhabitant of this state try'd for attempting to carry flour into Phil^a found guilty & sentenced to receive fifty lashes & to be employed

⁸⁷ *Ebenezer Gray*, 2 Lieut. 3 Conn., 1775; 1 Lieut. and Reg. Quartermaster 20 Cont. Inf., 1776; Brig. Major to Gen. Parson's Brigade, 1776; Major 6 Conn. 1777; Lieut. Col. 1778; transferred to 4 Conn. 1781, and to 3 Conn. 1783.

⁸⁸ *James Moore*, Capt. 4 Penna. Battl'n, Jany., 1776; Capt. 5, Penna. Line, 1776; Major 1 Penna. 1777; to 2 Penna., 1783.

⁸⁹ *Isaac Seely*, 2 Lieut. 4 Penna. Battl'n, 1776; 1 Lieut. 5 Penna. Line, 1777; Capt. Sept., 1777; Brigade Major 2 Penna. Brigade March, 1778; transferred 1 Penna. Jany., 1783.

⁹⁰ *William Alexander (Earl of Stirling)*, was quartered in the house of Rev. Dr. Currie, which is still standing.

in some publick work for the use of the Continent, whilst the British Army continues in this State unless he shall choose to enlist in the Continental service during the present war.

John Bloom, an inhabitant of this State, try'd at the same Court, for attempting to carry flour into Phil^a, found Guilty & sentenced to receive fifty lashes & sentenced the same as Culp.

At the same Court by adjournment, Capt. Benstead,⁹¹ paymaster of the 10th Penna Reg^t try'd for disobeying the orders of Capt. Cox,⁹² by refusing to pay him when he paid the other officers of the Reg^t, the Court having considered the charge & the evidence, are unanimously of oppinion that Capt. Benstead is guilty of the charge exhibited against him, but think that the order of his Col^o justifies his refusal to pay Capt Cox & therefore do acquit him. The Commander-in-Chief approves the forgoing sentences, except the stripes in the two first orders, & orders them to take place & that Capt Benstead be releas'd from his arrest.

John Evans an inhabitant of this State try'd at the same Court, for attempting to send provisions into Phila found guilty of the charge exhibited against him, being a breach of the resolve of Congress, & sentenced to be sent to Carlisle, & there to be employed in some work for the benefit of the Publick, during the continuation of the enemy in this State.

The Commander-in-Chief approves the sentence and orders it to take place.

Adam Gilcrist Forage-Master try'd at the same Court Martial for abusing & threatening to take the life of a soldier, found guilty of the charge exhibited against him, but as the nature of the insult received by him, rendered instantaneous chastisement, the Commander-in-Chief con-

⁹¹ *Alexander Benstead*, Paymaster 10 Penna. Line, Col. Joseph Penrose, Com. Ensign June, 1778; 1 Lieut. March, 1780.

⁹² *William Cox*, Capt. 10 Penna. Line, 1776; retired July 1, 1778.

firms the opinion of the Court & orders Mr. Gilcrist to be discharged from his arrest.

B. O.

Adjutant of the Day tomorrow from the 10th Reg^t.

G: S: C: P.

1— 1— 1— 6 Guard

0— 0— 1— 1 Command 1 week

2 Fatigue

Brigade fatigue the same as the Guard except a Commission'd Officer.

HEAD QUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE, April 14th 1778.

Brigader tomorrow Maxwell

Field Officers . . . Col. Boman⁹³ Lt. Col. Nevil⁹⁴

Brigade Major Walker.

Inspector from Genl McIntoshe's Brigade.

Major Vail will immediately repair to the detachment at Radnor to relieve Major Conway, Lt. McKenney⁹⁵ is appointed to do the duty of Brigade Major in Capt. Conway's Brigade till Major Hog⁹⁶ returns; & is to be respected as such. The Brigade Q^r Masters will apply tomorrow for their respective proportion of paper—the Medicine Chests from Genl Greene's Division to be sent immediately to the Yellow Springs⁹⁷ to be refilled; a return to be made of such Regt^s as have no Chests to Mr. Cutting⁹⁸

⁹³ *Abraham Bowman*, Lieut. Col. 8 Va. Line, 1777; Colonel, 1777.

⁹⁴ *John Neville*, Lieut. Col. 12 Va. Line.

⁹⁵ *John McKinney*, 2 Lieut. 9 Penna. Line, 1777; 1 Lieut. 1778; to 5 Penna., 1781; to 3 Penna., 1783; Dep. Com. of Purchases U. S. A., 1812, honorably discharged June, 1821. Died Nov. 25, 1833.

⁹⁶ *Thomas Hogg*, 1 Lieut. 1 N. C., 1775; Capt. 1776; Major 5 N. C. 1777; to 3 N. C. 1778; taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C.

⁹⁷ A large military hospital was established at Yellow Springs, Chester Co., Pa., after the capture of Philadelphia by Gen. Howe.

⁹⁸ *John Brown Cutting*, of New York, was appointed Apothecary General of Hospitals Eastern Department and later Middle Department. Died Feb. 3, 1831.

Apothecary Gen' of the Middle Hospitals, who will supply them; the Gen' was very much pleased on a ride through the lines yesterday, to see what attention some of the Brigadiers paid to his Orders, respecting the neatness and purity of the Camp, he wishes it had been Gen' but the case was otherwise, and notwithstanding a repeated order enjoining cleanliness; the smell in some places is intolerable owing to the want of necessaries & of the neglect of them; he therefore and for the last time without proceeding to extremities, requests that all kinds of Dirt, and filth, as well that in front, rear, and between the huts, as what shall be found on the parade before the Doors be raked together, and burned. The Regimental Quater Masters are to see that necessaries where wanted are immediately dug, and that fresh earth to be thrown into them every morning; the Brigade Quartermasters are to see that the offall at ye Slaughter Pens, are buried dailey, they will be answerable for a neglect of these Dutys and will without fail be arrested for the smallest inattention to them, Centinels from the Qr. Guards are to be posted at proper places, who are to make prisoner of any Soldier who shall attempt to ease himself at any where; but at the proper necessarys and five lashes are to be immediately ordere'd him by the Comm^{ds} Officer of the Reg^t, to which the delinquent belongs for the offence of disobedience of Orders; that soldiers may not ignorantly offend against this order, It is to be read to them frequently, and the Sergants are to take care that All New Commers are informed thereof, or they will become answerable themselves.

The Gen' observing that many hutts are without straw, the Qr Master Gen' therefore will provide it for the Soldiers to Lodge on.

At a Gen' Court Martial whereof Col. Vose was president Doct' Sonot, Surgeons Mate of the 14th Virginia Reg^t tryed for repeatedly neglecting to procure neces-

saries for the sick of the Reg^t., secondly for absenting himself without leave and going to the State of New York, acquitted of the first charge, but found guilty of the 2^d, being a breach of the 5th Article 14th Sec^t of the Articles of War, and sentenced to be reprimanded by the Commanding Officer of the Reg^t, and ordered it to take place tomorrow.

B. O.

Adj^t of the Day, tomorrow, from the 2^d Reg^t.

Detail for Guard.

							Sub: S: P.		S. P.	
							5		1	20
C: Sub: S: C: P.							1:	3	0	8
1 st Reg ^t	0	0	1	1	14	<i>Ftg</i>			<i>C. Sub</i>	
2 ^d do	0	0	1	1	6					
7 th do	0	0	0	1	8		4	1	1	0 12
10 th Do	0	0	1	0	7		1:	3	1	10
0: 0: 3: 3:35.							1:1:15	1:	1: 2: 50	

HEAD QUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE, April 15th 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow Wayne

Field Officers . Col Patton Lt. Col. Carlton,⁹⁹

Brigade Major

Inspector from Genl. Woodford's Brigade.

The men who are Drafted for the Commd^t-in-Chief's Guard, are to be included in the pay abstracts of their pay until the first of April, after which they will draw pay, as a Distinct Corps altho' returned on Comman'd in their Respective Reg^{ts}. At a Gen^l Court Martial whereof Col.

⁹⁹ Samuel Carlton, Lieut. Col. 12 Mass., 1776; deranged Sept. 12, 1778.

Craig was president, April 14th 1778, Lieut. Ritter¹⁰⁰ of Col. Procter's Reg^t tryed for ungentleman-like behaviour and for going into the City of Phila. since the enemy have taken possession of it, being guilty of a breach of Article ye 5th Sect. 18th of the Articles of War, but on account of circumstances, sentenced to be reprimanded in Brigade Orders.

The Commander-in-Chief approves the sentence, and orders it to take place. At the same Court Jn^o Foster, of Col Malcom's Reg^t tryed for deserting to the enèmy plead Guilty, & in consideration of his youth, only sentenced to receive 100 lashes on his bare back; ye Comm^{dr}-in-Chief approves of the sentence and orders it to be put in execution tomorrow morning at the head of the Reg^t to which he belongs.

B. O.

The Col. Comm^{ds} in the Report of the Brigade Guard this morning, observed that many prisoners are now confined for crimes which are under the immediate notice of Regimental Courts Martial, the Col. orders that Officers comm^{ds} Reg^{ts} who have such prisoners in the Guard to have them immediately tryed by the Regimental Courts. A Brigade Court Martial to convene tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock at the presidents Quaters for the tryal of all such prisoners as shall be brought there; the Brigade Major will order a field Officer and the members to constitute the Court:—President, Col. Bicker.

Cap^t. Mt. Gomery,¹⁰¹ is appointed Judge Ad. A Cap^t and two Sub from each Reg^t is to form the Court.

¹⁰⁰ *William Ritter*, 1 Lieut. 1st Penna. Artillery Col. Thomas Procter; resigned March 11, 1779.

¹⁰¹ *Samuel Montgomery*, of Cumberland Co., Pa., Ensign 6 Penna. Batt'n. Jany. 1776, 2 Lieut. June, 1776; Capt. 7 Penna. Line, 1777 to 4 Penna., 1781; shot through the foot at Jamestown Ford, July 6, 1781; to 3 Penna., and served to June, 1783.

<i>Detail for Guard.</i>						<i>Fatigue.</i>	<i>Detach^{mt}</i>
<i>G: Sub: S: G: P.</i>						<i>S</i>	<i>P.</i>
1 st Reg ^t			2	1	14	7	1
2 ^d do	1	0	1	1	6	3	0
7 th do				1	8	5	Corpl 0
10 th do		1	2	0	7	3	1: 0
1: 1: 5 3: 35						18: 1: 1.	

<i>G: Sub: S: P.</i>						<i>Camp</i>	<i>P.</i>
1 st Reg ^t	0	1	1	20		<i>Fatigue.</i>	7
2 ^d do	0	0	1	8			3
7 th do	0	0	0	12		<i>S.</i>	4
10 th do	1	0	0	10		1	3
1: 1: 2: 50						1: 17	

(To be continued.)

FIVE LETTERS FROM THE LOGAN PAPERS IN
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

Selected by Miss J. C. WYLIE, Assistant Librarian in charge of
Manuscripts.

RICHARD HILL TO JONATHAN DICKINSON, IN JAMAICA.

PHILAD^A the 14th. 3rd mo: 1704

MY DR FRD

JONATH. DICKINSON

I gladly Imbrace this optunity being the first & onely that I conceive shall have from this place before my depture for Maryland w^{ch} Expect may be about two weeks hence w^{ch} time is allso appointed for G. C & M. H. to Consumate theire Mariage. our Place is geneally very healthy as is all our relations & thy two D^r Childⁿ they grow up together as Calves in a stall & are Insepable Companions and for the most very good Company. D^r frd, I hope this Sumer will Crown our desires wth your good Company w^{ch} would be very acceptable to us all: We have a new Gov^r who is lately Com over with the popriators Comss & Queens approbation—he is an Episcopall man (young & Solled) but I hope Every waies well Suited tour psent Circumstances, the Province & territories are devided into two Assemblys att last, but are one Governm^t; Its yett to Early to pass oppinion whether for the better or not but we hope the best: we Allso have our young Propators Compny who is com to Stay here ayeare & if he like fetch his Wife. Thy News ab^t Gov^r Pimento of Carthgena was both new & Acceptable and I hope will be rewarded for his frdShip for the new king of Spain, when admitted, we have not much News from Urope that's Credited but dayly Expects

Nich. Bradish & one Crate of our place are both safe. at Matineco & is all they have yett known; of ours amongs 150 saile taken this war. I hope they will not inlarge the number.

I presume Most of my Relations y^t may be Expected will more at large imbrace this optunity therefore shall not say much for them only my Wife wth me has her very D^r love to Thee thy Wife, Relations unknown & D^r Johny wth Accept as the needfull from thy Affectionate & reallfrd. to power.

RD. HILL.

Pray remember my love to Benj. Dickinson Thy sons have theire dutys to you both & love to Brother.

THOMAS CADWALDER TO JOHN DICKINSON.

MY DEAR COUSIN

When I heard of the base & malicious treatment you received at the hands, of those Scandalous wretches, the Councill of Safety, My heart glow'd with Indignation, at the Insult, but upon Phil's Coming here last night, you cannot conceive, the Infinite pleasure it gave me, to hear, how Clearly you cou'd vindicate your honor & Character, I very much approve of your adress to the public, in a Cool Candid & Short manner, but that is not all, your honor demands of the Councill, I wou:d attend upon them, & by witnesses Satisfy them of the falsity of the Charges alleged against you, & tell them to their faces, that you looked upon their Cruell treatment of you, owing to the malice of Some of their members, if you do not treat them in this manner, you will Invite Insults of this kind, during your whole life, I should not regard their fuming & fretting at this declaration, defy their utmost malice & power, this Spirited Conduct &

fortitude will endear you to your frds, & Vindicate you the army our enemies, who hear every thing that passes excuse my warmth, as I have very Strong feelings for those I love best, My kind Love to Cousin Polly

I am y^r most Affectionate Unkle

T. C.

JOHN DICKINSON ESQR at Dover

CHARLES THOMSON TO COL. JOHN DICKINSON.

SUMMERVILLE Aug 16. 1776

DEAR SIR

I did not receive your letter of the 10th till yesterday, at which time by the advices received and the movements made I apprehend the difficulties you mention are in a great measure removed. Besides the very same cause that occasioned those difficulties operates so strong in the Army, as to prevent their being removed at this time by the measure proposed. Had M^r. M. when he moved for rank, moved for the appointment, there would have been no obstacle; or had M^r W. on receipt of your former letter, which I communicated to him, agreed to support it; or if he had not resolved to oppose it, I am of opinion there would then have been no opposition. There is a tide in human affairs, which if improved, things go on smoothly but if neglected, tis in vain to lose from the wharf.

You and I have differed in sentiment with regard to the propriety of certain public measures—not so much about the measures themselves, as the time, which you thought was not yet come—But from the prejudices, that I find prevail, & the notions of honour, rank & other courtly Ideas so eagerly embraced, I am fully persuaded had time been given for them to strike deeper root, it would have been extremely difficult to have prepared men's minds for the good seed of liberty.

I know the rectitude of your heart & the honesty & uprightness of your intentions; but still I cannot help regretting, that by a perserverance which you were fully convinced was fruitless, you have thrown the affairs of this state into the hands of men totally unequal to them. I fondly hope & trust however that divine providence, which has hitherto so signally appeared in favour of our cause, will preserve you from danger and restore you not to "your books & fields," but to your country, to correct the errors, which I fear those "now bearing rule" will through ignorance—not intention—commit, in settling the form of government.

There are some expressions in your letter, which I am sorry for; because they seem to flow from a wounded spirit. Consider, I beseech you and do justice to your "unkind countrymen." They did not desert you. You left them. Possibly they were wrong, in quickening their march and advancing to the goal with such rapid speed. They thought they were right, and the only "fury" they show'd against you was to chuse other leaders to conduct them. I wish they had chosen better; & that you could have headed them, or they waited a little for you. But sure I am when their fervour is abated they will do justice to your merit. And I hope soon to see you restored to the confidence & honours of your country.

I am glad to hear you continue hearty.

We have flattering accounts from Canada by some Canadian officers who have joined our Army. I hope they will prove true.

Order and harmony are returning to our northern Army, and if it please providence to dispel the dark cloud, that hovers over New York, I fondly hope the sun of peace will quickly shine upon us. May that gracious providence in which I know you place your confidence, protect & preserve you.

I called yesterday to see cousin Polly & Sally. They are both well.

Your cousin Hannah remembers you with great affection, & so do the rest of your cousins at Summerville.

Adieu,

I am your sincere & affectionate friend

CHAS. THOMSON.

(Addressed) To

COLONEL JOHN DICKINSON

at

Elizabethtown.

DR. BENJAMIN RUSH TO JOHN DICKINSON.

PHILADELPHIA 4th October 1791

MY DEAR FRIEND

Any person connected in any way with, or recommended by You, cannot fail of commanding my disposition to serve him.

My usual fee with an Apprentice is £100 cash. I have in many instances lately, objected to reducing this sum, chiefly with a design to reduce the number of my Apprentices. At present I have six in my Shop—one of whom will leave me in a few months. If under the above circumstances, your friend insists upon coming to me, I can make no Objection to him.

Dr Wister & Dr Griffitts I believe take Apprentices for a less sum than £100. They were both Professors in the College, and will be continued in the new University. They are moreover both physicians of the Dispensary, Where a young man will see more practice in a month than with most private Physicians in a year. The moral characters of the two Gentlemen alluded to are truly amiable. They both stand high in the esteem of friends in this city.

In the midst of my numerous avocations from study and business, I often cast a look towards your peaceful retreat from public labor on the heights of Wilmington.

What would I not give for one long evening with you by your fire side, to trace together the wonderful effects of the American revolution upon the Old World, in the progress of reason, and humanity,—to exult together in the order and tranquility of the United States—to anticipate years of happiness unknown to former ages, to our posterity, and Alas!—to drop a tear over the departed honor & character of our beloved State of Pennsylvania.—I need not mention the cause of our grief.—Our *Governor* has named all the fears of the friends of Virtue in the State.—It is hard to tell whether his private immoralities, or public follies expose him to the most contempt.—

A Church for the exclusive benefit of *our* friends the Blacks, is likely to be established in this city.

My dear Mrs. Rush joins in affectionate regards to Mrs. Dickinson—Miss Sally & Maria with yours

Sincerely

BENJ^N RUSH.

SAMPSON LLOYD TO ELIZABETH NORRIS.

From my Farm near BIRMINGHAM,

15. 7th Mo. 1775.

DEAR COUSIN

I received thy affectionate Letter in Course, but it was inadvertently mislaid for a long time which prevented my answering it as I intended, but having now found it, I sat down this Morning to answer it, and as thou mention'st thy desire of being informed of the Situation of the several Branches of the Family, I shall as they occur to me give thee a Satisfactory answer, tho' I may not do it in order of time.

I was glad to See by thy Letter that thou art one left of the Old Stock of a Family who all my life long I had a great love & regard for, as descending from that good man Thomas Lloyd, whose memory & character I revere.

I remember perfectly well thy Father & Mother at Birmingham in the year 1708, who paid us a very agreeable visit they had a young Child with them which I think was born on the water in their voyage to England.

I my self was born in 1699 & of course now pretty far advanced in years, but am thankful to say, that altho' I have always had a delicate Constitution, yet I enjoy at this season as good a Share of Health as ever I did, And write near as readily, tho' I never used or use Spectacles, yet I have used my Eyes for above 60 years with uncommon application.

I married first in the year 1727 to a Daughter of Richard Parkes of this Town, by whom I had a son born in 1728 of my own name, who hath been a great Blessing & Comfort to me he married to a Daughter of Samuel Barns of London in 1762 by whom he hath had 10 fine Children all alive and healthy which we esteem a high favour from the fountain of all our mercies.

I lost my first Wife in the Year 1729 & in that of 1731 I married to a Daughter of Nehemiah Champion of Bristol by whom I had 11 Children 5 of which died in their Infancy my Second Wife died of a Decay in 1756 Since which I remain a Widower.

My Dear Daughter Mary married in 1757 to Osgood Hanbury of London, by whom She had 10 Children 6 of which are yet alive, Divine Wisdom Saw meet to take her to himself in 1770, much to our loss she hath left a most amiable Character worthy of the imitation of every Christian. My other Dear Daughter Rachel married in 1767 to My valuable Son David Barclay of London who I esteem a most happy Couple, they are an ornament to the married State, and a Blessing to me in my declining Years. I have also 4 other Sons which add much to my Comfort Nehemiah Charles John and Ambrose, Charles was married last year to a Daughter of the late James Farmer & are already Blessed with a fine Hearty Lad of his own name. My Son John is lately gone for Virginia

being in partnership with my Son Hanbury & intended to see Philadelphia in Course of his voyage my Sons Sampson Nehemiah & Charles Carry on the Iron Trade here in Partnership.

My Father had 16 Children but only 2 now living my Sister Olive Kirton & my self She hath lived with me a Widow for about 17 years. We lost my Dear Mother in 1770 in her 93^d year a lively Spirited Honest Woman & a pattern to her sex She could read without Spectacles to the last week of her life, th^o She occasionally used them.

When thy Father & Mother where in this Town they Spent much of their time at my Uncle & Aunt Pembertons, my said Aunt who was my Father's Sister died in 1711—I have now before me a Letter from James Logan on her Death who had been a little before to pay them a visit & think it a worthy *pattern* & therefore I copy it.

The world hath lost one of its greatest ornaments tho' in a private Sphere, her acquaintance the truest and best of Friends, and a bright pattern to them of every thing that was vertuous & excellent in her Sex, her Relations have lost the Joy & Glory of their Family, her Husband a Treasure that was Constantly too near him to leave him capable almost of judging of her value, her Children what can never be repaired to them I mourn her Loss being sensible of the heavy blow, But it must be Submitted to, our only Support must be to have an Eye to him who has taken her, & to endeavour earnestly to become worthy of being admitted into her Company. She lived on Earth like an Angel (I'm sure I always thought so) & is Certainly gone to be made as one of them in a State out of the reach of Care, where Sorrow cannot reach, where change hath no place, but constant serene Joy, without interruption are the portion of those who have lived up to that State of purity & Innocence. May we all who had the happiness of knowing her & now mourn our Loss of her make this our sole use of it to set the vertues She practiced as a Constant pattern. This account is very

full yet quite Consistant. & I thought proper to Copy it.

About 20 Years Since I had at my House 2 honest women from your Province whom I much loved & regarded Margaret Elis and Margaret Lewis I hear the former is gone from Works to Rewards if the latter is living please to give my dear Love to her, I shall always be glad to hear of her Welfare.

The Dolobran Family remains yet under difficulties. Charles Lloyd the Son of my late Uncle Charles Lloyd died in 1767 near 70 leaving Several Children his Eldest Son Charles died in 1773 at about 48 unmarried his Mother yet resides there who brought a very large Fortune into the Family. She hath another Son James who is partner with his first Cousin Charles England a Wine Merchant in Coventry.

I saw my Coz. Elizabeth Fidoe a few Days since very well She hath taken a House in this neighbourhood for a few Years past where she resides a part of the Year the other part in London.

I have gone a greater length than I intended & think it fit to conclude but if any furthur intelligence will be acceptable to thee I will readily send it & I hope in less time than I have done this I am with very Dear Love to thy self & my other valued Relations tho' unknown

Thy most affectionate Friend & Kinsman

SAMPSON LLOYD.

TOMBSTONE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE BAPTIST GRAVEYARD
AT CAPE MAY COURT HOUSE, N. J.

COPIED BY MRS. EMMA STEELMAN ADAMS.

(Continued from page 364.)

Hand, Aaron, died May 31, 1852, in the 67th year of his age.

Aaron, born July 18, 1812, died June 7, 1874.

Aaron D., born June 29, 1820, died Feb. 13, 1900. [Father]

Anna M. Fowler, wife of Aaron D. Hand, born Apr. 19, 1823, died May 5, 1896.

Mary H., daughter of Aaron D. & Anna M. Hand, died Oct. 9, 1864, aged 7 yrs. 4 mos.

Seth W., son of Aaron D. & Anna M. Hand, died May 28, 1854, aged 13 months.

Abbie, wife of Capt. Leonard Hand, born Mar. 18, 1848, died Dec. 27, 1886.

Abigail Cresse, wife of Capt. Smith Hand, died June 10, 1893 aged 73 years.

Absalom, died 1826, aged 67 yrs. (month & date not given).

Martha, wife of Absalom Hand, died 1824, aged 67 years, 6 months.

Hugh, son of Absalom and Martha Hand, died Feb. 4, 1802, in the 18th year of his age.

Absalom, died May 11, 1856, aged 56 years, 5 months & 1 day.

Annetta, daughter of E. P. and M. E. Hand, born Aug. 4, 1895, died July 4, 1898.

Danielia W., wife of Franklin Hand and daughter of Daniel & Jane Whilldin, died June 7, 1886 in her 75th year.

Arabell, dau. of Franklin & Danielia W. Hand, born Feb. 19 1852, d. Apr. 16, 1853.

Daniel Hand Sr., d. Apr. 27, 1787, aged 57 yrs.

Hannah, wife of Daniel Hand, d. May 5, 1774, aged 39 yrs.

Seth, son of Daniel Hand, killed by falling from his horse July 1, 1812, in his 44th yr.

Daniel Hand, son of Seth & Esther Hand, b. Nov. 24, 1798, d. Sept. 1, 1823.

Esther, dau. of Seth & Esther, d. Oct. 20, 1815, aged 4 yrs. & 1 day.

Franklin, son of Seth & Esther Hand, d. Feb. 4, 1857, in his 49th yr.

Esther, b Nov. 26, 1778, d Feb. 15, 1844.

Esther, wife of Thomas Hand & dau. of Rev. Jenkin David, d. Feb. 9, 1820, aged 21 yrs.

Esther Hewitt, dau. of Humphrey & Mary Hewitt, b. Mar. 22, 1803, married to Daniel Hand Mar. 4, 1822, d. Jan. 13, 1892.

Eliza Cresse, b. June 21, 1798, d. Mar. 18, 1868.

Deborah, d. Apr 23, 1808, aged 40 yrs, 8 months & 6 days. "Here lies a mother and 13 children."

- Elias, b. July 26, 1833, d Dec. 12, 1900. "Co I 25 Regt. N. J. Vol."
Elizabeth, wife of Levi Hand, d. Dec. 22, 1843, aged 51 yrs, 4 mos.
& 10 ds.
Ephraim, b Dec. 14, 1811, d Sept. 25, 1885.
Regina, wife of Ephraim Hand, d. Aug. 22, 1889, aged 77 yrs, & 10
mos.
Henry L., son of Ephraim & Regina Hand, d. Feb. 7, 1842, aged 2 yrs.
8 ms. & 5 days.
Leonard C., son of Ephraim & Regina Hand, d. May 27, 1850, aged 2
yrs. 11 ms. & 29 ds.
Rachel F., dau. of Ephraim & Regina Hand, d. Feb. 2, 1842, aged 4
yrs. 5 ms. & 23 ds.
Hannah, dau. of Hugh & Hetty C. Hand, b. Jan. 10, 1859, d. Jan. 10,
1864.
Hugh G., son of Hugh & Hetty C. Hand, b. July 23, 1863, d Jan. 12,
1864.
Infant daughters of Hugh & Hetty C. Hand, d. Aug. 17, 1855 and
May 2, 1856.
Miller, son of Hugh & Hetty Hand, d. Oct. 14, 1860, aged 3 yrs., 6
ms. & 22 ds.
Seth M., son of Hugh & Hetty C. Hand, b. Mar. 6, 1861, d. Jan. 9, 1864.
Hugh, son of Miller & Hannah Hand, b May 13, 1833, d Aug. 13, 1897.
Hannah, dau. of Christopher & Isabella Hand, d. Aug. 16, 1823, aged
7 yrs., 5 ms.
Henry, b. Dec. 15, 1791, d. Dec. 23, 1868.
Arthellia, wife of Henry Hand, b. Aug. 6, 1801, d. Mar. 9, 1864.
Hannah, dau. of Henry & Arthelia Hand, b. Nov. 28, 1831, d Sept. 29
1835.
Isabella, wife of Elijah Hand, d. Apr. 2, 1850, aged 37 yrs, 15 ms. 28 ds.
Alfred S., son of Elijah & Isabella Hand, d. July 29, 1850, aged 3 ms,
29 da.
Gideon H., son of Elijah & Isabella Hand, d. June 22, 1865, aged 20
yrs, 3 ms.
Jeremiah, Esq., d. Aug. 12, 1867, aged 71 yrs. 4 ms. & 25 ds.
Jeremiah, Esq., d. Sept. 12, 1815, in the 52nd year of his age.
Deborah, wife of Jeremiah Hand, Esq., d Dec. 12, 1845, aged 80 yrs,
(Erected to her memory by her grandson, Dr. Z. Hand, 1895.)
Jeffe (Jesse?) d Aug. 1798, in his 20th yr.
Martha, d. Mar. 1800 in her 3d yr.
John M., d Oct. 12, 1846, aged 31 yrs. 1 mo. & 4 ds.
John, d Feb. 2, 1809, aged 44 yrs. 1 mo. & 4 ds.
John, Jr., d. Oct. 10, 1817, aged 22 yrs. 1 m. & 16 ds.
Jonathan, son of Jonathan and Sarah Moore Hand, b. Dec 22, 1818,
d. Mar. 2, 1897. "Clerk of the county of Cape May from 1840
until 1890."
Hannah, wife of Miller Hand, d. Feb. 21, 1860, aged 67 yrs, 3 mos 25 ds.
Amanda, dau. of Miller & Hannah Hand, d. Nov. 11, 1824, aged 10 ms.
Deborah, dau. of Miller & Hannah Hand, d. Oct 21, 1832, aged 5 yrs
6 ms. & 11 ds.

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- J. Holmes, son of Miller & Hannah Hand, b. Apr. 5, 1820, d. Sept. 12, 1888.
- Jonathan, b. Nov. 15, 1780, d Apr 2, 1834.
- Sarah, widow of Jonathan Hand, Dec. Born at Trenton, N. J., July 22, 1778, d. Apr 3, 1871.
- Laodicea, wife of Stephen Hand, Esq. d. June 2, 1849, in her 86th yr.
- Levi, d. July 22, 1860, aged 82 yrs 4 ms & 20 ds.
- Peggy, wife of Levi Hand, d Feb. 16, 1831, aged 50 yrs, 3 ms. & 23 ds.
- Ludlam, son of William & Eleanor Hand, d. Aug. 4, 1834, aged 9 mo. & 10 ds.
- Miller, d. Aug. 2, 1853, aged 60 yrs. 6 ms. & 29 ds.
- Nathaniel, b. Nov. 8, 1782, d Feb. 2, 1852.
- Rachel, wife of Nathaniel Hand, d Jan. 6, 1842, aged 56 yrs, 11 ms.
- Lovicia L., dau. of Nathaniel & Rachel Hand, d. Jan. 11, 1839, aged 23 yrs & 22 ds.
- Rebecca, wife of Aaron Hand, d. June 15, 1868, in her 79th yr.
- Rebecca A., dau. of Aaron & Rebecca Hand, d. Oct 24, 1821, in her 8th yr.
- Rachel, wife of Jacob Hand, d. Sept. 20, 1883, aged 73 yrs. 10 mo.
- Sarah H. wife of Philip Hand, relict of Absalom Hand, b. Dec. 22, 1808, d Feb. 11, 1890.
- Thomas, son of Aaron and Rebecca Hand, d. June 21, 1856, in his 28th yr.
- Capt. Smith, d. June 10, 1883, aged 74 years.
- Harrison*, Bessie S., dau. of M. L. & C. V. Harrison, d. Jan. 29, 1893, in her 9th yr.
- Harris*, Elizabeth F., b Nov 29, 1839, d. Aug. 21, 1867.
- Mary J. b. June 26, 1817, d. Jan 26, 1865.
- Samuel A. b. Sept 11, 1811, d. Jan 24, 1868.
- Heritage*, Emeline, wife of Andrew Heritage, b. May 25, 1841, d. June 28, 1904.
- Hannah, wife of Isaac Heritage, d. Apr. 14, 1900, aged 70 yrs.
- Isaac, d. Sept. 15, 1870, aged 45 yrs.
- Joseph, b. Oct 26, 1853, d. July 22, 1895.
- Hewitt*, Adda, wife of William A. Hewitt, d May 21, 1899, aged 22 yrs.
- Carlos H., son of Wm. A. & Adda Hewitt, d. Jan. 28, 1905, aged 7 yrs.
- Charles F., son of Thomas & Rachel Hewitt, d May 14, 1842, aged 7 yrs. 6 ms.
- Aaron, deacon, d. Apr 23, 1822, aged 57 yrs. 1 mo. 28 ds.
- Abigail, formerly consort of Cornelius Bennet & late widow of Aaron Hewitt, d. Sept. 7, 1843, aged 70 yrs & 6 ms.
- Enoch, d. July 12, 1885 in his 76th yr.
- Abigail A., wife of Enoch Hewitt, d. Oct. 15, 1879 in her 68th yr.
- Reuben, son of Enoch & Abigail A. Hewitt, b. Feb. 26, 1831, d. Nov. 10, 1836.
- Calvin, son of Edwin S. & Hannah M. Hewitt, d Jan. 4, 1901, aged 14 yrs, 11 mos. & 4 days.
- Hannah M., wife of Edwin S. Hewitt d. Oct. 22, 1892, aged 39 yrs. & 10 ds.

Tombstone Inscriptions, Cape May C. H., N. J. 509

George Hewitt, Late of Co 25th. N. J. Vols. d. Mar. 9, 1888, aged 65 yrs.
Sarah, wife of George Hewitt, d. June 18, 1900, aged 70 yrs, 2 ms. &
18 ds.

George, b. Jan. 4, 1814, d Apr 12, 1887.

Jemima C. b Aug. 22, 1816, d Mar 4, 1887.

Theodore, b July 14, 1844, d June 28, 1845.

Enoch, son of Aaron & Rosana Hewitt, d. Nov. 1, 1851, aged 19 yrs.

Thomas H., son of Aaron & Rosana Hewitt, d. Aug 12, 1853, in his
28th yr.

Hannah M. dau. of Stephen F. & Elizabeth Hewitt, d Feb. 23, 1858,
aged 7 mos.

Jonathan, d. Oct. 12, 1863, aged 80 yrs. & 8 mos. (Our Father).

Lois, wife of Jonathan Hewitt, d. Dec 22, 1869, in her 87th yr.

Henry Y., son of Jonathan & Lois Hewitt, b. Mar. 17, 1807, d Feb 25,
1866.

Humphrey, b. Dec 5, 1777, d. July 29, 1856.

Mary, wife of Humphrey Hewitt, d. Dec 26, 1839, in her 57th yr.

John, Late of Co. I. 25th Regt N. J. Vols., aged 77 yrs. (No date.)

Jane A., wife of John Hewitt, b. Aug. 30, 1825, d Jan. 23, 1900.

Thomas, son of Humphrey & Mary Hewitt, b. Nov. 26, 1800, d May 12
1855, aged 54 yrs. 5 mos & 16 ds.

Rachel F., wife of Thomas Hewitt, b March 2, 1806, d Feb 27, 1885.

Reuben, accidentally drowned May 21, 1831, aged 23 yrs 8 ms. & 16 ds.

High, Jacob, b. Sept. 15, 1813, d. Dec. 15, 1860.

Rebecca, wife of Jacob High, d. Aug. 31, 1866, in her 36th yr.

Hildreth, David, d Dec 29th, 1862, aged 27 yrs. & 6 mos. ("Farewell, my
husband," etc.)

James, d. Nov. 13, 1766, aged 38 yrs.

Lydia, wife of James Hildreth, d May 25, 1767, aged 36 yrs.

Jonathan, Deacon, d Oct., 1787, aged 47 years.

Joseph, Esq'r, d Apr 10, 1815, in his 53rd yr.

Anne, wife of Joseph Hildreth, d Nov. 10, 1820, aged 42 yrs. 5 mos. 13 ds.

Sarah D., b. Jan. 11, 1814, d Nov. 6, 1889.

Hoffman, George W., d Dec 27, 1899, in the 88th yr of his age.

Mary, wife of Geo. W. Hoffman, d. May 8, 1880, in her 71st yr.

Hollingshead, Rhoda, wife of Jeremiah, d. Sept. 14, 1896, aged 81 yrs. 7 ms. 2 ds.

Holdzkom, Josiah, son of Isaac & Sarah Ann Holdzkom, d. June 3, 1871,
aged 47 yrs. 3ms. 11 ds.

Sabina, wife of Josiah Holdzkom, d. Jan. 29, 1866, aged 37 yrs. 6 ms.
3 ds.

Jacob S., son of Josiah & Sabina Holdzkom, d. Feb. 24, 1856, aged
4 yrs. 4 ms.

Holmes, Emma F., wife of Nathaniel Holmes, d. Oct. 26, 1901, aged 53 yrs.

Major Nathaniel, d. Jan 28, 1834, aged 76 yrs. 10 ms. 11 ds. "Major
Holmes was born in the town of Strabane, in Ireland, Mar. 17,
1757, and landed at Cape May New Jersey in the month of August,
1773. Finally when called to depart this life he was resigned
placing all his hopes and confidence in the merits of his Divine
Redeemer for acceptance and salvation."

510 *Tombstone Inscriptions, Cape May C. H., N. J.*

- Hannah, wife of Nathaniel Holmes, d. Aug. 29, 1814, in her 51st. yr.
 Thomas, son of Nathaniel & Hannah Holmes, d. Jan. 16, 1814, in his 26th yr.
- Hannah, dau. of Nathaniel & Hannah Holmes, d. Aug. 1, 1807, aged 22 yrs. 1 mo. & 1 day.
- Isabella, d. Feb. 2, 1795.
- John, son of Nathaniel & Hannah Holmes, d. Oct. 31, 1811, aged 20 yrs. 2 ds. "Accidentally shot by his gun."
- Charles K., b. July 29, 1805, d. Feb. 13, 1875.
- Judith S., b. Aug. 16, 1807, d. Nov. 24, 1881.
- John, d. Nov. 16, 1822, aged 43 yrs, 13 ds.
- Mary L., wife of Robert M. Holmes, late of Cape May Co., New Jersey, dau. of Persons Leaming, b. in Cape May Co. N. J. Oct. 10, 1788, d. in city of Reading, Penna., Feb. 5, 1861.
- Richard C., b. Sept. 17, 1813, d. Jan. 25, 1863.
- Emma M., wife of Richard C. Holmes, and dau. of Joseph Hand, late of Philadelphia, b. Dec. 12, 1822, d. Jan. 31, 1872.
- Robert M., b. Oct. 2, 1872, d. Aug. 23, 1840.
- Thomas A., b. May 25, 1829, d. Dec. 11, 1899.
- Danielia, wife of Thomas A. Holmes, d. Mar. 30, 1868, aged 36 yrs. 6 ms.
- Husted*, Esther A., wife of Elijah B. Husted, b. Sept. 19, 1803, d. Dec 11, 1868.
- Elijah B., b. Dec. 2, 1804, d. May 27, 1872.
- Adelaide, dau. of Elijah B. & Esther A. Husted, b. Jan. 3, 1841, d. Apr. 9, 1872.
- Albert E., d. Nov. 28, 1865, aged 20 yrs. 11 ms. & 12 ds.
- George W., d. Oct. 11, 1897, aged 72 yrs & 3 ms.
- Elizabeth S., wife of George W. Husted, d. Apr. 22, 1856, aged 29 yrs. 3 ms. & 12 ds.
- Daniel W., Son of G. W. & E. S. Husted, d June 16, 1852, aged 8 mo. & 9 ds.
- James H., b. July 24, 1817, d. Apr. 20, 1873.
- Elizabeth A., wife of James M. Husted, b. Oct 15, 1821, d. Dec 15, 1892.
- Howell*, Millard T., son of B. L. & M. I. Howell, d. Aug. 9, 1886, aged 2 months.
- Mitchell, b. Dec. 24, 1833, d. Mar. 17, 1897.
- Infant dau. of W. & S. Husted.
- James C., b. Nov. 2, 1787, d Nov. 20, 1864, aged 77 yrs.
- Sarah S., b. Nov. 21, 1791, d. Apr. 20, 1855.
- Irwin*, Virgil D., son of John & Rebecca Irwin, b. Feb. 16, 1842, d Feb. 14, 1869.
- Isard*, Clarrissa, wife of Henry Isard, d. Dec. 12, 1824, aged 25 yrs. 7 mos. & 3 days.
- Henry, d. Jan. 30, 1865, aged 69 yrs. 10 mo, & 20 ds.
- Joseph, b Mar. 19, 1829, d. Nov. 24, 1902.
- Hetty G., wife of Joseph Isard, b. Oct. 8, 1840, d. Oct 23, 1895.

Maud Edna.

William Stanton.

Margaret, d. Mar. 22, 1872, aged 80 yrs., 10 ms. & 11 ds. (Erected by her son.)

Margaret, wife of Reaves Isard, d. Mar. 21, 1849, aged 45 yrs. 11 ms. & 25 ds.

Charles, son of Reaves & Margaret Isard, d. Aug. 27, 1832, aged 10 ms.

Phebe, dau. of Reaves & Margaret Isard, d. Nov. 15, 1827, aged 1 yr. 9 mo. & 6 ds.

Hannah M., wife of Reeves Isard, d. Apr. 25, 1881, aged 75 yrs. 3 ms. & 21 ds.

Vera, dau. of Reeves and Anna B. Isard, b. Aug. 24, 1888, d. July 21, 1890.

Nicholas, d. July 5, 1862, in his 75th yr.

Priscilla, wife of Page Isard, d. June 23, 1840, aged 20 yrs, 8 ms. & 27 ds.

Caroline, dau. of Page & Priscilla Isard, d. July 27, 1840, aged 6 ms. & 1 day.

Page, b. Dec. 25, 1814, d. Feb. 6, 1874. (Our Father.)

Jane B., b. Mar. 9, 1815, d. Aug. 10, 1894. (Our Mother.)

Sylvitha, wife of Somers Isard, d. Feb. 21, 1883, aged 61 yrs. 6 ms.

Hamilton, son of Somers & Sylvitha Isard, died July 10, 1848.

Somers, son of Somers & Sylvitha Isard, d. Oct. 24, 1854, aged 4 yrs. & 11 mos.

Jaggard, Charles, Late of Co. E. 150th. Penna. Vol. b Nov 22, 1828, d. Jan. 1, 1896.

Jenkins, Grigs, d. Sept. 16, 1835, in his 54th yr.

Martha, wife of Grigs Jenkins, d. Feb. 6, 1867, in her 84th yr.

Nathaniel, d. Aug. 1, 1848, aged 43 yrs., 8 mos. & 19 ds.

Charles G., son of Nathaniel & Hannah Jenkins, d. Mar. 23, 1852, aged 9 yrs, 2 mos & 7 ds.

Tabitha G., dau. of Nathaniel & Hannah Jenkins, d. Oct 3, 1828, aged 15 mos. & 7 days.

Grigs, son of Nathaniel & Hannah Jenkins, d. Oct 14, 1856, aged 2 mos. & 15 ds.

John W., d. July 31, 1871, in his 42nd yr.

Johnson, Effa E., wife of John A. Johnson, d. Apr. 17, 1902, aged 22 yrs.

Isaac P., d. May 23, 1903, aged 68 yrs.

Kerman, John L., d. Aug. 30, 1869, aged 26 yrs. "In the battle of Mechanicsville, Va. he was severely wounded in the defense of his country."

Keeler, Jessie S., dau. of Charles W. & Ella S. Keeler, d. Jan. 30, 1893, aged 4 yrs. 7 ms.

Kiler, Elizabeth, d. Oct. 24, 1862, aged 94 yrs. 5 ms. & 7 ds.

Kimsey, David T., b. Feb. 28, 1844, d. Apr. 13, 1881.

Lake, Mary L. Nickerson, wife of Frank Lake, b. Oct. 18, 1875, d. Aug. 17, 1905.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Query.

ADAM HOOPS:—Information wanted of the birth-place and parentage of Adam Hoops who died at Falls, Bucks Co., Pa., June 30, 1771, aged 62, and of his wife Elizabeth Hoops who died in Philadelphia July 19, 1782, aged 62. They were both buried in Bank Street Church yard, which was the 1st Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. Adam Hoops is supposed to have lived in that part of Chester Co., Pa., that became Lancaster county, in 1729, and Cumberland county, in 1750, as the first record we know of him is his being drawn on the first Grand-jury empanelled in Cumberland county, July 24, 1750, and his appointment, the same year, as first Coroner of the county. After this he led an active public life until his death. He resided for some years at Carlisle, Pa., where lived also his sister, Margaret Cummins. He had another sister Anne, wife of Joseph Evans, of South Carolina, married at Christ Church, Philadelphia, October 29, 1734. Both sisters are mentioned in his will. Adam and Elizabeth Hoops had eight children, the eldest Jane, who was born in 1743, married Daniel Clark, who moved to New Orleans and amassed the enormous fortune that was the subject of historic litigation for many years, on behalf of Myra Clark Gaines; Isabel who married 1st, James Mease and 2ndly, Jasper Moylan, having by her second marriage one child who became the wife of Robert Walsh, Jr.; Sarah who married, for his second wife, Colonel John Syme, of Virginia, the half-brother of Patrick Henry; Mary who married Thomas Barclay, Consular Agent of the United States in France at the close of the Revolutionary war; Margaret who married Thomas Walker; Robert (of New Jersey); David (of Maryland and Virginia), and Adam (Major U. S. Army), the youngest, born at Carlisle, Pa., January 9, 1760, died at West Chester, Pa., June 9, 1846.

In her "History of Ceres, N. Y.," Miss King, now deceased, says that Major Adam Hoops "was of English descent and had a genealogical record back to the ninth century;" which members of her family had seen. This would be a most important and valuable document to find. Does any one know of its present whereabouts?

Major Adam Hoops left all his estate (1846) to his niece, Mrs. Maria Isabel Coulter of Staunton, Va. She was living in 1858. Whose child was she?

The Adam Hoops family most likely belonged to the Presbyterian denomination, and although Joshua Hoops, the emigrant ancestor of the Quaker Hoopes Family, of Chester county, spelled his surname the same as Adam Hoops, Gilbert Cope says: "no relationship was known to exist." But a strong personal likeness existed between Major Adam Hoops and some members of the Hoopes family of Chester Co. From at least three of the daughters of Adam Hoops having married born Irishmen, and his grand-daughter Moylan also, it would seem not at all unlikely, from the clannishness of the Irish, that he was of Irish birth or extraction.

There is a tradition, for what it is worth, that there were the proverbial three brothers Hoops in England, one, Joshua Hoops, emigrating to America, one to Scotland and one to Ireland. With these key-notes, as pointers, cannot some of your readers add to our information?

CHARLES HENRY HART.

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